THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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The President Should Speak

So far as we can ascertain, the facts about the political side of the war at the present moment are as follows:

While the broad principles of the Moscow and Teheran conferences are still in effect, agreement among Russia, Britain and the United States is far from perfect. Among other contentious matters, the Russians do not see why a second front has not been opened sooner than this. The British do not see why America should suddenly get into oil politics in the Middle East. The United States does not see why, according to persistent undenied reports, Mr. Churchill has agreed so readily and completely to giving Poland the western part of East Prussia and much of Pomerania and Silesia, Russia to take Koenigsberg and everything east of it.

The mix-up over Italy has reached opera-bouffe proportions. Moscow now says it didn't really recognize Badoglio, but only wanted direct contact with him such as the British and Americans already enjoy. It seems clear that we have not been consulting Russia about Italy as we promised to do. The Italian Communist leader appears to have dropped all opposition to Badoglio and the King until Italy is entirely set free. The Russians' willingness to be realistic and to compromise with their principles takes away the breath of many people in the Western democracies.

Where We Disagree

The United States and Great Britain disagree about both strategy and ideology in the Far East. Despite announcements that everything is settled, we still want to open the Burma Road first and the British want to retake Singapore first. We are also unhappy about the failure to do anything politically in India, especially with the Japanese now invading that country, accompanied by Indian troops headed by Quisling Bose.

Although nobody knows to what extent Russia is acting unilaterally in her Eastern European policy, there is a general feeling that she still mistrusts the long-run intentions of the British and ourselves toward her, and is inclined to put most of her eggs in the basket marked "Russia's strength" rather than the one marked "collective security." She opposes any federation of European states which might be hostile.

The three powers are in disagreement about France. Russia has given de Gaulle full recognition. Britain would like to. Mr. Roosevelt, however, has a strong personal distaste for de Gaulle and is inclined to dump the French political problem into the lap of General Eisenhower, who does not want it, and does not do these things very well.

Why Mr. Roosevelt Is Silent

These disputes, and some others that might be mentioned, explain why the President is so silent about our foreign policy. Mr. Roosevelt does not want to make speeches which might be wrongly interpreted as expressions of United Nations policy on issues still in dispute. He also does not want to make speeches which will seem to his allies an attempt to bring pressure on them. That is why he leaves the statement of our foreign policy to Mr. Hull, who brings out almost meaningless platitudes.

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But one can understand Mr. Roosevelt's policy without agreeing with it. The war has in literal fact reached one of those important turning-points where to keep silent may be more disastrous than to speak and be misunderstood. Is the United States working for collective security or is it not? Will we try to suppress the peoples' revolutions which will undoubtedly spring up all over Europe as soon as the Nazi yoke is removed? How does our venture into Saudi Arabia square with our reunciations of imperialism? Do we mean to scramble for oil rather than to come to an amicable agreement with the other great powers to allocate it?

President Roosevelt could readily make clear this government's attitude on all these matters without prejudging pending disputes. If the Atlantic Charter must be rewritten to fill the needs of the changing times, we are entitled to know why and to what extent. No excuse of military and diplomatic secrecy can now outweigh the right of the American people to know what kind of war the President thinks this is.

Mr. Churchill Cracks the Whip

Prime Minister Churchill cracked the whip over the House of Commons when, after being defeated by one vote on a minor domestic issue, he insisted on making the question a matter of confidence, and was sustained by a large majority. This means that he threatened to resign unless the House would sustain his government on every matter—domestic as well as foreign. And it also means that although a majority of the House disagreed with him on at least one question, they would rather sink their differences than plunge the country into a political crisis at this moment.

The particular issue was whether women teachers should have the same pay as men, and Churchill said no. On this matter progressives in both Britain and the United States will disagree with him. This disagreement is symptomatic of a far wider dissatisfaction with the attitude of Mr. Churchill toward postwar problems, both domestic and foreign. On the one hand he argues that nothing should be changed until the war is won; on the other he argues that his government is making splendid progress toward a new and better world. But his speech to this effect was received with distinct coolness.

Mr. Eden, who is reported to have disagreed with Mr. Churchill on numerous questions affecting the future peace, may quit his role as spokesman for the government in the House of Commons, or his position as Foreign Minister, or that as Secretary of the War Cabinet. The assigned reason was that his duties were too heavy. But it may be that he will be removed from a position which might become embarrassing to his political future. As we approach victory, the strength of Winston Churchill diminishes. He was indispensable to organize resistance, but he may become more than dispensable to organize peace.

Primary in the ALP

To ask who won the American Labor Party primary in New York State is about like asking who won the eruption of Vesuvius. The so-called left wing of the party was victorious in an overwhelming majority of the contests, but the net effect of the bitter civil war within the organization is still only to weaken and divide the progressive forces in the state. Both sides have certainly been at fault, and most of all for letting a clash of personalities produce yet another dispute on the Left, seeming to confirm the old contention of the conservatives that their opponents will always weaken their influence by internal quarrels. The left wing, which certainly includes many independent trade-unionists in addition to the Communists, was probably wrong from the beginning in suggesting that a political party ought to be made practically co-extensive with a group of trade unions: men should join political parties because of political convictions, and not automatically through their economic affiliation with a union. The right wing is probably wrong in threatening to secede from the party at its next statewide meeting. The right-wing group should stay in the party at least long enough to see whether the Communists do in fact dominate its activities, as they predicted would happen. Both sides, of course, are committed to a fourth term for Roosevelt, and it is not yet clear how serious is the harm done to the size of the vote he will get in New York State. What is clear, however, is that the schism should never have been allowed to happen.

The Soldier Vote

Just before they left for an Easter recess, members of Congress heard the President's message on their soldiers'-vote bill. Although many people hoped and expected he would veto it, he merely allowed it to become law without his signature. "This bill, in my judgment, is wholly inadequate," the President told them. But he went on to say that because it was so difficult to determine whether in fact more servicemen and women will be able to vote under the new measure than under existing law, he had "resolved the doubt in favor of Congress" and refrained from vetoing the bill. But the President did not allow the matter to drop there, where so many of the congressmen up for reëlection had hoped that he would. He called on them instead to "take more adequate action to protect the political rights of our men and women in the service." Senators Thomas F. Green of Rhode Island and Scott W. Lucas of Illinois, original sponsors of the federal-ballot bill, immediately responded to the President's request by introducing amendments to permit the use of the short federal ballot without prior application for a state ballot. The Senate just as promptly referred the new bill to committee without discussion.

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The President's message has clearly left the soldiers'-vote issue up to the Governors and Congress. Their further actions will decide whether the vote for our soldiers is to be a fraud or a reality next November. As of now, it is a fraud.

Oklahoma

They were singing "Oh, What a Beautiful Morning!" at Democratic headquarters the other day when the news came in from Oklahoma. Psychologically, the Democrats had figured that a great deal was at stake in the by-election race in Oklahoma's Second Congressional District. Results in the other recent special races had given the Republicans too much basis for talking about a Republican "trend," so the Democrats put energy and money into this fight. The Republicans did the same. The issue, as agreed to by both sides, was about as clear-cut as it could be: the New Deal. The results were better than most Democrats had anticipated. W. G. Stigler, the Democratic candidate, carried the district by 4,000 votes; in 1942, the Democratic candidate had carried it by only 388. But experienced political observers are warning that these results in Oklahoma should not be interpreted as a nationwide Democratic trend, that they merely show again that the larger the vote, the better for the Democrats.

On-the-spot reporters gave considerable credit for the Democratic victory to Senator "Pappy" O'Daniel, officially listed as a Democrat from Texas, who campaigned vigorously for the Republican candidate in the Oklahoma race at the invitation of his crony, Republican Senator E. H. Moore. Both "Pappy" and Moore so overdid their uncontrolled attacks on the President and the New Deal that they stirred up large parts of organized labor and other groups which might not otherwise have entered into the campaign so wholeheartedly, or bothered to get out and vote.

The Meaning of Sakhalin

Russia has forced Japan to give up her coal and oil concessions in northern Sakhalin, giving her only a nominal *quid pro quo* in the form of fishing rights. The fact is not of much material importance, but psychologically it is of great significance. Japan had promised to take this step three years ago, but she did not do it, and the Russians did not feel strong enough to make her. Today, Japan is obviously afraid of Russia. That speaks volumes about how the war is going, both in Europe and in the Far East.

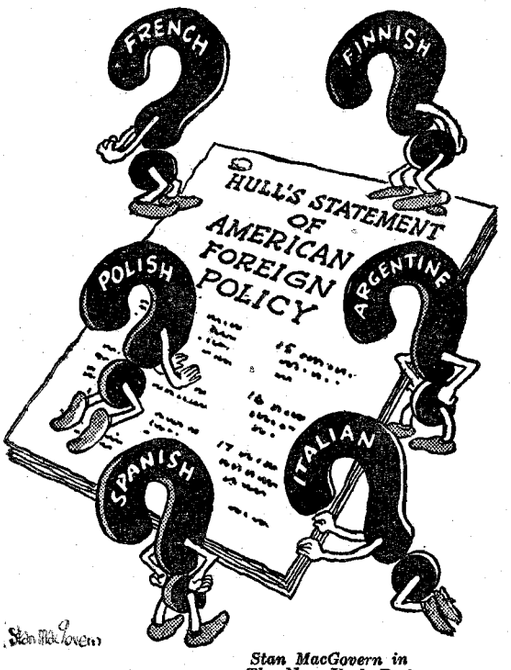
Meeting in Madison

A notable conference of progressive men and women representing the workers, farmers and coöperatives of the State of Wisconsin met recently in Madison. Presenting an object lesson in harmony to workers in many other parts of the country, they represented the AFL, the CIO, the Railroad Brotherhoods, the Farmers' Union and many coöperatives of various kinds. They endorsed the OPA, the principle of wage stabilization, the AAA and the REA. Striking was the harmony exhibited between the CIO and the Farmers' Union. Van Bittner, assistant to Philip Murray of the CIO, told the delegates that "there is one farmers' organization in America that is fighting for farmers. From now on, the program of the Farmers' Union is the farm program of the CIO." A continuing committee was appointed to arrange for further meetings and for carrying out the detailed recommendations of the gathering. The whole spirit, and the notable enthusiasm, of the conference were summed up by one delegate, who said, "Our purpose is to provide a pattern for similar unity for non-partisan political action in every state." Other papers (and the farmers and workers of the other 47 states) please copy.

The Same Old South?

Southern men and women of good will, who understand the problems of their native land and are trying to solve them, have had a bad week. The poll-tax demagogues in Washington joined in as sickening a circus display as has been seen in recent years. Bilbo, McKellar, Dies, Rankin and their gang worked overtime in performances which have surely left the decent South disgusted and ashamed.

Senator Theodore "The Man" Bilbo, worked up by the threat of poll-tax repeal which faces him and by the possibility that Southern soldiers, both white and Negro, may return home with new ideas on race and politics that will not agree with his own, took his Packard and his "C" card and drove from Washington to Jackson, Mississippi, to address the state legislature



Stan MacGovern in The New York Post

6 Characters in Search of an Answer

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on the subject of white supremacy. Goebbels would have found it difficult to add much to his 36-page speech, which advocated deporting American Negroes to West Africa and expounded the familiar doctrine of white supremacy. Bilbo, as chairman of the District Committee of the Senate, is in effect mayor of the voteless District of Columbia. D. C. citizens and newspapers are up in arms against the continuance of a man of Bilbo's views in his present District position.

Meanwhile, Martin Dies pursued his fight against free speech in this country through his attacks on Walter Winchell, discussed elsewhere in this issue. "Pappy" O'Daniel continued his fight against the New Deal, to the extent of stumping Oklahoma on behalf of a Republican candidate for Congress—the ultimate act for a Southern Democrat like Pappy. Kenneth McKellar and John Rankin continued to make spectacles of themselves. Russell of Georgia tagged along after McKellar in the TVA fight, working for an amendment designed to do away with the President's Fair Employment Practice Committee.

But increasing numbers of Southerners are declaring that no amount of ranting and raving from these Civil War throwbacks will continue to hold back the South. In spite of tough, well financed opposition in the primaries, predictions are that both Claude Pepper and Lister Hill, the two best Senators the South has produced in recent years, will be renominated and will pitch into the fight more vigorously than ever before to get a fair industrial break for their section after the war. The South is moving, and the Bilbos and the McKellars can't go on forever.

No Basket Cases

For a long time, rumors have been heard in this country about the large number of "basket cases" among our war casualties—victims who have lost both arms and both legs. Plenty of people have said that they had themselves seen numerous such cases. While some of these rumors were doubtless the work of Nazi agents, in some cases the stories were apparently spread by persons seeking only to make themselves the center of dramatic attention. A few days ago, the army took occasion to deny that in its ranks there has been one single "basket case" up to date. There have been 1,194 cases of single amputation and 68 cases where two limbs have been lost, and that is all. War is horrible enough without making it worse through spreading false stories of this kind. Next time anyone tells you he has seen a lot of "basket cases," you might quote these statistics to him.

Men in Washington: III

Senator Homer T. Bone of the State of Washington is giving up the Senate seat he has held since 1933, to accept appointment as a judge of the Ninth United States Circuit Court of Appeals. No one who knows Homer Bone doubts that he will make a valuable contribution to this important judicial circuit. His incisive mind and his relentless search for the truth have always made him a good public servant wherever he was. But Homer Bone enters upon this judgeship over the protest of many of his stanchest friends. They think the Senate needs him more than the bench. And they see little possibility of keeping the seat he now occupies from falling to the Republicans, with Bone out of the race in this year's election.

There is some talk that Bone will remain in the Senate until November before being sworn in to his new office. That would soften the political blow of his leaving, for then Republican Governor Arthur Langlie would have no opportunity to appoint a successor. But the gap in the Senate will still remain, and public power will lose one of its strongest and best informed advocates: Homer Bone worked in support of both state and federal power projects for years before he came to the Senate. The fight to free the world from cartel control after the war will have to go on without one of its hardest hitters. The Patents Committee investigation into international cartels two years ago, which Senator Bone directed, produced more facts about cartel operations than we ever had before. During his years in Washington, his colorful language has been the marvel of his colleagues in the cloakroom as well as of the gentlest hostess in her drawing-room.

Homer Bone fully merits the high appointment he has received, but all the same, when the going gets tough in the Senate, there will be many a New Dealer who will wish him back.

Mr. Dies and Free Speech

THROUGH ALL THE SMOKE and stench of Martin Dies's attacks on Walter Winchell and on the CIO Political Action Committee, the careful observer will discern at least one landmark. Dies has now entered on the second phase of his malodorous career. In the first phase the strategy employed was that of smearing individuals and organizations through the so-called "investigations" of his committee. (We almost yielded to the impulse to put the committee also in quotes, since it has never functioned as more than a convenient window-dressing for Dies's activities.) The second phase moves beyond even the smear itself, and aims at silencing those who criticize or fight his smears and his political purposes.

In short, the Dies Committee has now moved from the stage of attack to the stage of suppression. In the first stage it was a public nuisance, operating (as we pointed out in this space last week) wholly in defiance of procedural due process, destroying reputations and careers without giving the victims any recourse, pro-

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ducing confusion and division. But in its new stage it goes beyond being a public nuisance, and menaces freedom itself as embodied in the American tradition.

What Dies is seeking to do with Walter Winchell is not simply to debate with him. It is to get him off the air, and thus get freedom off the air. What Dies is seeking to do with the Political Action Committee of the CIO is not simply to smear it as "Communist." It is to destroy it as a politically functioning group, to choke off labor's right to express itself in civic life, and thus to choke off the very principle of political opposition.

The Winchell episode is among the most sinister in Dies's whole career. Dies, who has never dared drop his congressional immunity from libel suits and who has never given any of the people he has attacked a chance to answer, demanded of the Blue Network and of Winchell's sponsors a length of time on the air equaling Winchell's whole broadcast. He got it. It was so arranged that Winchell could not answer him on that same evening. Winchell did answer him the following week, and with searing effectiveness.

But although Winchell won the argument, he lost the battle. Two passages of crucial importance—one of which quoted a criticism of the Dies Committee tactics by Representative Eberharter, one of its own members, and the other of which openly defied any subpoena from the committee—were deleted from the Winchell script by order of Andrew Jergens, head of the lotion company which sponsors the broadcasts. And along with this specific case of censorship came an even more serious blanket censorship, shutting Winchell off from any further criticism of Dies. That, at any rate, seems the construction to be placed on the statement, "the subject is closed, as far as this program is concerned"; and the further statement that the program "is not intended as a public forum for the discussion of political, partisan, or other controversial or personal difference." Instead the program is to be a vehicle for "enjoyment and entertainment." That is to say, Winchell is safe so long as he confines himself to peephole entertainment. But as soon as he takes the fate of his country seriously and tries to fight the fascists who are from within helping the enemy outside, he ceases to be safe.

Thus Dies has in at least one case succeeded in suppressing freedom of the radio. The fact that by the First Amendment every American is guaranteed freedom of expression against encroachment by Congress and the federal government, does not trouble him. Nor does it seem to trouble the owners and controllers of newspapers and broadcasting stations. At least, only a few newspapers and none of the leaders of the radio industry have thus far protested against the Dies attack on freedom of speech. If it had been some reactionary columnist who had been haled before one of the New Deal administrative agencies for daring to criticize it, the outcry would have been thunderous. But for most newspaper publishers and radio executives the issue seems somehow obscured by the fact that Winchell is anti-fascist and not reactionary, and that Dies is not a New Deal administrator but a bitterly anti-Roosevelt congressman.

And yet, as the whole history of the struggle for free speech has shown, it is the sheerest short-sighted folly to protest only when the opinions with which you agree are suppressed, and not when the suppression is directed against those with which you disagree. Exactly the same thing applies to the failure of political leaders and spokesmen outside of the labor groups to protest against the Dies attempt to throttle the free expression of the CIO Political Action Committee. Historically, in every nation where freedom has been destroyed, the attack on freedom has always started with an attack on the freedom of the more advanced and less strongly entrenched groups. But it has inevitably moved on from that point to the destruction of the freedom of the older, more conservative and more powerful groups. Freedom is indivisible, and nowhere in the area of freedom is that truer than in freedom of political expression.

The Big Wage Drive

THE ARTICLE BY Harold J. Ruttenberg on page 489 of this issue of The New Republic reflects the drive of the Steelworkers to break through the wage freeze imposed under the Little Steel formula. It gives evidence of the intensity of feeling which is behind this drive, on the part not only of the union which Mr. Ruttenberg represents, but of a majority of the important unions in the country. The United States is faced with a real labor crisis, which has implications of the highest importance for the winning of the war and for the postwar period.

With the recommendations of Mr. Ruttenberg for action in this matter, The New Republic is in thorough agreement. The average increase of income per wage earner since the war began has been less than the average increase of income per farmer, or per person on farms, and much less than the increase in business profits after taxes are deducted. The cost of living has gone up since the wage freeze was ordered, in spite of the fact that the freeze was predicated on a promise that the cost of living would be rolled back. Prices received by farmers have been allowed to rise while wage rates have been held stationary. All this is reason enough for an abandonment of the Little Steel formula, and for a decision to allow wage rates to increase in step with the cost of living. The present situation is unjust to labor; it is deeply felt to be unjust; and failure to remedy it will have serious consequences.

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We believe, however, that some of the most important points in Mr. Ruttenberg's argument are fallacious and fail to strengthen his case. Surely a labor economist is grasping at straws when he must quote a Stock Exchange spokesman to prove that the "inflationary gap" is all moonshine. It is certain that the people of the United States, taken as a whole, have had more money to spend than they could pay for the goods available for purchase, at prewar prices. If that were not true, how could Mr. Ruttenberg account for a rise in the cost of living as high as he claims, or indeed for any rise in the cost of living at all? Such a rise could occur only if people had the money to pay the higher prices. The pressure of this money in the markets is the chief cause of the price increases. We are fortunate that it has not caused more damage than it has. People have saved an extraordinary amount of their extra money, but by no means all of it.

If there were no inflationary gap, there would be no reason to blame Congress for having failed to follow out a courageous tax program. Price control is as important as Mr. Ruttenberg says it is, but it cannot be advanced as an alternative to taxation which would absorb more of the excess purchasing power. Rather the two buttress each other.

It is true that the opponents of wage increases have used the existence of an inflationary gap as a reason for their position, but if the line had been held on farm prices and profits as well, they would have been right. No matter how much more money wage earners may receive, there will be no more goods to buy; the standards of living of the people as a whole cannot be further increased without the production of more civilian goods. The sound reason for wage increases under existing circumstances is that they may enable the lower-paid workers to obtain more of the goods which are available—at the expense, of course, of those with the higher incomes—and that the workers would be enabled to increase their savings, as they have a right to do. It is to be hoped that this will be the result of success in the drive.

It seems to us also that the Bureau of Labor Statistics has a good answer to labor's criticism of its figures. The BLS figures themselves justify revision of the Little Steel formula. And as Mr. Hinrichs points out, they are only a general national average and should be modified for special localities and cases.

What worries us most about the wage drive is not any doubt as to its justice or necessity, but the fear that it will divert the attention and energies of the unions from the all-important political situation. Traditionally, labor organizations have made negotiations with employers and appearances before boards their first business, since unions cannot remain strong without showing direct results to their members in such matters as protection of wages and hours. The impetus to do so in this case is overwhelming because John L. Lewis and the railroad unions have already won their gains by threat of strike, whereas the unions now concerned have honorably held to their no-strike pledge and are not exerting the pressure of deadly threats. Their leadership is in great danger of being discredited with the rank and file unless they can succeed by their legitimate methods. They are therefore throwing all their resources into this endeavor.

The fact remains, however, that there is a President and a Congress to be elected this November. The outcome is of vital importance to all the democratic forces in the country, and especially to the labor movement. The present wage struggle would not have been forced upon the unions if a decent Congress had been elected two years ago, since it is Congress which has insisted that farm prices be allowed to rise, which has failed to curb profits or follow a wise taxation policy, and which has done everything possible to set labor back on its heels. The chances are that the wage issue will not be decided before the November elections, and that Congress will exercise the decisive power. If the unions fail to do everything possible to bring out their membership to vote for a progressive Congress because they are paying so much attention to the preparation of briefs and statistics, to the influencing of boards and administrative authorities, they are likely to discover in the end that they have lost not only the wage case but objectives of far more lasting importance.

Labor is at its greatest disadvantage before the people as a whole when it appears mainly in the guise of a pressure group advancing its own immediate interest. At such a crisis as the present labor needs especially to make a statesmanlike emphasis on the broader objectives which are of importance to all and which it really has just as much at heart. To throw its whole weight into the political campaign at the present time would do just this, and would checkmate those who have attempted to put it on the defensive in an absorbing wage struggle.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
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Wages and the Cost of Living

We publish below an article by Harold J. Ruttenberg, Research Director of the United Steelworkers of America, demanding that the Little Steel formula for wages be abandoned. Mr. Ruttenberg has recently been Assistant Director for Manpower, Steel Division, War Production Board, and is technically on leave at the moment from that post.

Following Mr. Ruttenberg's article is one by A. F. Hinrichs, Acting Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor, commenting on that part of Mr. Ruttenberg's article which refers to the rise in the cost of living.

Additional comment on this whole subject also appears in our editorial section. – THE EDITORS

Break the Wage Freeze!

ORGANIZED LABOR is in the headlines seeking wage boosts, and the reasons why are traceable to five clearly distinguishable groups with overlapping memberships.[1]

The Inflationary-Gapists. – The "inflationary-gapists" have turned out to be the wrongest people in a right cause that World War II has produced. I suspected as much two years ago when I wrote in these pages that "the underlying theory of the inflationary gap is a libel on the American people. . . . [They] won't pay an uneconomic value for any piece of goods." Today the facts are clear, and even recognized by the conservative financial community. Randolph Burgess, vice-chairman of the National City Bank, has said:

> Inflation is not a direct product of excess-money; it is a product of human behavior. Money does not become wild by itself. It could be dangerous only when used wildly by the people who have it, and the significant thing that is happening now is that, with some conspicuous exceptions, the financial behavior of the great bulk of our people has thus far been characterized by common sense.

This view is confirmed by The Exchange—published by the New York Stock Exchange—in an article by William W. Craig (January, 1944, issue), who shows that the so-called inflationary gap is far from the 40 to 60 billion-dollar mark in 1943, was actually less than four billions, and concludes:

> . . . Inflationary elements have been countered to a degree because a great many people elect to do something with their money besides buying merchandise. If extravagance is a marked trait of Americans, it cannot be proved by looking into history. This country became the premier industrial nation of the world, not by extravagance, but by saving. There have been periods of rising personal debt, as opposed to frugality which results in investment. There have been intervals when too many people spent more than they earned, but these are more prevalent in normal times than in war times. *The country's experience since 1939 is that personal debt has been reduced instead of being increased.*

Using later figures than were available to Mr. Craig, we find that the "wild money" in 1943 amounted to a little more than one percent of estimated disposable income, or only $1.4 billions—quite a contrast with the 40 to 60 billion-dollar gaps that the inflationary-gapists have been using to frighten the country and freeze wages. And even if the gapists were right (and they are not), they had the cart before the horse according to a United States Department of Commerce study ("Rationing," by A. R. Upgren and R. M. Bissell Jr.), which concludes:

> . . . The weight of the evidence [especially from Britain and Germany] is in support of the view that the major and primary responsibility for the avoidance of inflation falls upon those endowed with the power of rationing. . . . There is yet to be provided a convincing case of any country in war adopting fiscal policies in the degree necessary to maintain anything approaching substantial stability in prices. In contrast there is considerable evidence that reasonably satisfactory fiscal measures can be adopted *only if* those empowered to ration have *first* done their job well. . . . Dictatorships no less than democracies have found the imposition of an adequate fiscal policy, initially, almost impossible unless there was *first* created by rationing an excess of idle purchasing power. . . .

The utter fallacy of the inflationary-gapists—and the resulting cruel injustice to workers—is seen in the fact that wage-freezing is a form of fiscal measure to reduce purchasing power.

The Wage-Freezers. – From this fallacy the ranks of the wage-freezers multiplied. Corporate management made up the original group of freezers, its purpose clearly being the destruction of labor unions. When the gapists jointed the freezers, then, labor got it in the neck, and the axe was not made any less painful by the superior attitude of the gapists, "We know better than labor what's good for it."

The wage-freeze was written (July 16, 1942) into the War Labor Board's "Little Steel" formula, which says that wage rates can only be raised 15 percent

[1] Many of the data contained in this article are taken from the brief of the United Steelworkers of America submitted to the WLB Panel hearing the current steel wage case. – H. J. R.

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above the level of January 1, 1941, to meet the alleged rise in the cost of living between January, 1941, and May, 1942; the purpose, as declared by WLB Chairman W. H. Davis, being:

> Because of the need for maximum production it is necessary that fair and equitable labor standards should not be broken down. All the history of industrial production shows that because of the contribution to efficient production, if for no other reason, achieved standards should be maintained. . . . Not to protect those standards would justly give rise to a sense of insecurity and frustration among the workers who remain at home; and it is only fair to the workers who are drawn into the fighting services that their standards should be protected while they are away.

Workers on the home front know, and workers in uniform will learn when they return home, that under the wage freeze their position in the national economy has deteriorated. While civilian workers received 65.7 percent of the national income in 1939, they only received 59.3 percent of the 1943 national income (estimated at the rate of the fourth quarter of 1943, which approximates the current rate). In these two periods corporations raised their share of the national income (before federal taxes) from 8 to 13.9 percent; and farmers went from 5.9 to 7.1 percent. Thus while corporations and farmers (agricultural proprietors) have increased their participation in the national income, labor's share has declined. This deleterious effect of the fallacious inflationary gap was anticipated by the WLB Panel which heard the original Little Steel case in 1942 and which observed unanimously:

> It is clear that the national money income shares importance with the consumer's pie, and that, although the latter will shrink, the former will grow. To ask labor to accept less than its proportionate share of the nation's money income in order to prevent labor from acquiring too much pie leaves out of account that money has value even when it must be saved.

Philip Murray, CIO head and president of the Steelworkers' Union, citing this panel finding in his final argument on the Little Steel case before the WLB in 1942, said:

> In times of peace one of the major economic objectives of collective bargaining is the equitable distribution of the national income. . . . Wage raises have been sought to redistribute the national income more equitably to lower-income groups. In wartime this economic objective has to be forgone, in lieu of which wartime collective bargaining has as one of its economic objectives the maintenance of that distribution of the national income, as between low and high income groups, that prevailed in peacetime. . . . From every sound social and economic viewpoint, the debt incurred by the federal government in the prosecution of the war should be equitably distributed among all levels of income groups in the nation. . . . Theories on inflation should not be allowed to result in throwing a still more inequitable proportion of the national income in the hands of the upper-income groups. This would have the disastrous consequences of having the government's war debt inequitably distributed in favor of these upper-income groups. . . . To do so . . . would be announcing to American workers that one of the prices they shall have to pay for the war is to make the rich richer and themselves poorer—that is, relatively—than they were before the war began.

Phil Murray has no special powers of clairvoyance, but he has an appreciation of simple arithmetic. When the national income rises 132 percent from 1939 to 1943, as it has, and wage rates are frozen for a good part of the period, the results can only be (1) a declining share of the nation's money income going to labor and (2), as Treasury Department figures show, an inequitably small proportion of the national debt falling into the hands of the low-income groups.

The Tax-Abaters.—Apparently banking on Congress to preserve through taxation the peacetime distribution of the national income, the wage-freezers ignored Murray's pleas. This they can no longer do, in face of the cold-blooded decision of Congress to finance the war from here on in by deficit financing and not by higher taxation. The tax-abaters give the wage-freezers no choice but to lift the freeze, unless they choose to aggravate the cruel injustice they have already imposed upon labor.

The scandalous story of postwar guaranteed corporate profits revealed by the Steelworkers' Union before the WLB Panel hearing on its current wage case makes the position of the wage-freezers all the more untenable. Here is what the 1942 Revenue Act means to the steel industry. If in 1944 the industry broke even, the federal government would give it a check for $122 million, or almost as much profits as it made in a peacetime year. And should the industry lose money in 1944, at the rate of 1938 losses, the federal government would give it a check for $167 million, or 32 percent more than it was able to earn in net profits after taxes in peacetime.

These guaranteed profits are assured for two years after the war. Let me emphasize: for two years after the war the steel industry, whether it breaks even or loses money, will have refunded *out of federal wartime taxes*, a sum equal to or in excess of what it was able to make before the war. Yes, a large part of the war excess-profits taxes (normal federal taxes also) are merely temporary; corporations can draw upon them for at least two years to make up for postwar losses. To ask labor to suffer a permanent wartime wage freeze while corporations enjoy, in the main, temporary wartime excess-profits (and normal) taxation is not only unjust; it is impractical.

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The War Profiteers. – The year that I spent as an assistant director of the WPB Steel Division impressed me with one fact: "Thank God, war production is profitable or there wouldn't be much of it!" And there is a lot of it and, with it, still more profits. The Treasury Department estimates that corporate profits before taxes rose 406 percent in 1943 over the peacetime 1936-39 average of $4,464 million; and that 1944 profits will be $24.5 billion, or 449 percent of the 36-39 average. Even after taxes corporate profits in 1943 were estimated at 175 percent of the 36-39 average ($3,324 million), and in 1944 will be 198 percent above 36-39, or $9.9 billion.

Steel is an industry whose financial structure you discuss in billions, not mere millions, of dollars. Its total assets at the end of 1942 were more than a billion dollars higher than in 1939; in the same period its undistributed profits rose by more than a third of a billion, and its reserves increased $161 million. At the end of 1942, steel's resources were almost twice as high as in 1939; they stood at $1,349 million, and preliminary data indicate they were more than $1.5 billion at the end of 1943. This is all before taking account of the refundable taxes (previously noted) that the steel industry has coming back to it whether it breaks even or loses money.

The war profiteers in food are even a sorrier story, because they are the firms that are involved in the production and distribution of the very items that go into workers' budgets. OPA studies reveal that wholesale food grocers realized twice as much on every dollar of sales in 1942 as in 1939. Profits before taxes of fruit and vegetable canners were five times as great in 1942 as in the years 1936-39 on less than twice the prewar volume of sales. And compared with average earnings in 1936-39, profits before taxes of meat packers in 1942 were more than four times the prewar level on only 83 percent higher sales. These and other food war profiteers emphasize the basic fact that the wage-freezers ignore, namely: the demand of corporations for increasing profits and the governmental practices which have permitted such profits to continue have actually caused the present inflation and rising cost of living.

All that I am arguing is that some of these exorbitant profits be distributed in more wages so that (1) low-income groups can buy a larger share of the national debt and (2) be compensated, at least in part, for the rising cost of living so as to enable them to continue and increase the high level of war production.

The BLS-ers. – Your wartime living costs have risen at least 43.5 percent since January, 1941, despite the angry protest of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor (BLS) that its limited peacetime measurement (a 23-percent rise since January, 1941) of the cost of living is correct. The BLS-ers are off at least 20 percentage points, according to the CIO-AFL Cost of Living Report, submitted to the Presidential Committee on the Cost of Living, for the following, among other, reasons:

1. *Quality deterioration:* The OPA reported to the Boren Congressional Committee that the wearability of a pair of shoes had declined 30 percent from 1941 to 1943, though the price had not changed. Yet, in actuality, the price of these shoes had risen 42 percent. To the consumer it doesn't matter whether you raise prices or reduce the life of goods, the result is the same, but the BLS-ers only report those increased living costs resulting from price changes. In food, clothing and house-furnishings, this alone accounts for much of the difference between the 23-percent rise of the BLS and the 43 percent found by the CIO-AFL report.

2. *Trading-up:* For profits, and not because of wartime conditions, manufacturers and food processors are compelling consumers to buy a $2 shirt by ceasing to make the $1 one, and grade-two and three canned foods are selling for the price of "Fancies." This increase in living costs, which is not insubstantial, is also missed by the BLS-ers.

3. *Geographical limitations:* The BLS only covers 34 large cities (56 for foods), while "the retail price changes in these cities are not typical of price changes in all urban areas because," the CIO-AFL report found, "the congestion resulting from wartime military and industrial activity has been most serious in smaller cities."

4. *The food imputations:* The BLS does not price restaurant meals or 40 percent of the foods you eat at home, and the foods priced by the BLS (only 60 percent of the total) are the ones most effectively under price control and food-price subsidies. Yet the BLS-ers have continued unchanged their peacetime practice of imputing to the unpriced foods and restaurant meals the price changes of the foods they price. Here's where much of the distortion is found.

I was explaining these food imputations to a local union meeting of steelworkers when a worker asked me, "What is an imputation?"

I replied, "It's an assumption."

"And what the hell is that?" he rejoined. (Laughter.)

I replied, "An assumption is a guess."

He shot back, "Who's so darn dumb he has to guess about the cost of living?"

"I take it, brother," I replied, "that you've never been to Washington, D. C." (More laughter.)

In Washington, William Hammett Davis, WLB chairman and chairman of the Presidential Committee on the Cost of Living, is quoted as saying, "You can't argue with the facts; you can only be ignorant of

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them." Not even this much, however, is true on this subject. You can't argue with living-cost facts; you can only ignore them—you can't even be ignorant of them. R. J. Thomas and George Meany, the CIO and AFL members of the Presidential Committee, challenged the BLS-ers to submit the following question to a Gallup Poll: "The BLS reports a rise in living costs of 23 percent in the last three years, while the CIO-AFL report says that they're up 43 percent. Which report most closely reflects your own experience?" To this, the BLS-ers have been significantly silent.

The word injustice can hardly describe a wage freeze based on a 15-percent rise in living costs when the wartime cost of living has actually increased at least 43 percent.

The Wage-Boosters. – To all this the wage-boosters say, "Break the Wage Freeze!" In steel we are asking for a 17-cent-an-hour upward adjustment, and workers in other industries are making similar requests in terms of their particular conditions. A comprehensive family-expenditure study of steel workers, made by the USA-CIO, shows the average steelworker going in the hole 79 cents a week, despite the highest weekly earnings in his history. The study found no evidence of any "silk-shirt era," but on the contrary reveals steelworkers living on a minimum budget with more than 50 percent postponing needed medical and/or dental care for financial reasons.

When the wage freeze was imposed through the Little Steel formula, William H. Davis said, "It [the formula] stabilizes the purchasing power of the hourly wage rates as of January, 1941. The Board [WLB] acts on the assumption that prices and living costs will now be stabilized under the President's seven-point program." The failures on the tax, price and living-cost and $25,000-maximum-salary fronts are known, and Mr. Davis has recognized them in a letter (November 5, 1943) to Vice President Wallace:

> As the months flow by and the Board continues to hold wages at the general level of September 15, 1942, we become increasingly conscious of the fact that we are asking one segment of our society to do its part to protect all Americans from the ravages of inflation while, at the same time, a similar obligation has not been placed as heavily upon the shoulders of some of the other segments of this society.

President Roosevelt (September 7, 1942) also recognized the limitations of the wage freeze when he said, "It is obvious, however, that if the cost of food continues to go up as it is doing at present, the wage earner, particularly in the lower brackets, will have a right to an increase in his wages. This would be essential justice and a practical necessity."

The wage-boosters are asking that the President and his administration keep their word. Restore the proper relationship between wages and prices—namely, that of January, 1941—and ration thoroughly, control prices effectively and tax heavily. This will remove the gross injustice of the wage freeze and strengthen national stabilization.

HAROLD J. RUTTENBERG

II. Is the BLS Right?

IN "BREAK THE WAGE FREEZE!" Mr. Ruttenberg is concerned primarily with matters of wage policy now before the War Labor Board in the steel case, and it would be inappropriate for me to express an opinion upon them. Under the title, "The BLS-ers," however, he discusses the cost-of-living index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which is properly a concern of the Bureau.

The extent of the rise in the cost of living since January, 1941, base date of the Little Steel formula, has been under consideration for many months. A Committee of the American Statistical Association, appointed at the request of the Bureau of Labor Statistics through the Secretary of Labor, after months of study and after hearing, among others, the representatives of the trade unions, found that the index is "a satisfactory measure" of the rise in prices of living essentials.[1] In December, 1943, the President appointed a Committee on the Cost of Living, composed of William H. Davis, chairman, George K. Batt, H. B. Horton, George Meany and R. J. Thomas, all members of the War Labor Board. This committee has been considering the rise in living costs in relation to wage policy, and has not as yet made its final report. In his article, Mr. Ruttenberg is citing a "recommended" report made to this committee by its two labor members, Mr. George Meany of the AFL and Mr. R. J. Thomas of the CIO. The statement that wartime living costs have risen "at least 43.5 percent since January, 1941," is the principal conclusion of this report.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics, at the request of Chairman Davis of the President's committee, prepared an appraisal of the Meany-Thomas report, entitled "The Cost of Living Index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics." This comprehensive appraisal states more completely than is possible in this brief space the reasons why the Bureau of Labor Statistics concluded, in transmitting its report to Chairman Davis,

[1] The reports referred to in Mr. Hinrichs' article are the following: "An Appraisal of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics Cost of Living Index by a Special Committee of the American Statistical Association," The Journal of the American Statistical Association, December, 1943; "The Cost of Living Index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, A Review and Appraisal of the 'Cost of Living,' by George Meany and R. J. Thomas," labor members of the President's Committee on the Cost of Living, made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics at the request of the chairman of the committee, Mr. William H. Davis; "Cost of Living," by Mr. Meany and Mr. Thomas, available at National Headquarters of the CIO and the AFL, Washington, D. C.

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on February 25, 1944, that "the claim of the Meany-Thomas report that the cost of living has risen 43.5 percent is not supported by their data. Rather, there is conclusive evidence that they are absolutely wrong in asserting that the rise in the cost of living is nearly twice as great as the Bureau of Labor Statistics shows it to be [23.4 percent]."

At the same time, the Bureau stressed its own awareness of the limitations of any retail-price index, like the cost-of-living index, in connection with important wartime problems of wages and the standard of living:

> The Bureau of Labor Statistics cost-of-living index is adequate as a guide to general policy, and as a test of the degree of price stabilization attained during the war.
>
> It must be accepted for what it is—a good approximation of average price changes for essentials of family living. It is a national average, not a micrometer reading applicable to the situation of every family. When it is used for policy purposes, consideration should be given to problems peculiar to the groups involved. Families differ; localities differ; prices vary widely.
>
> The cost-of-living index must be understood if it is to be properly used. Other agencies than the BLS have the responsibility for its application to national policy.
>
> One of the facts that should be noted about the cost of living is that the lower the income group whose well-being is to be appraised, the more carefully the index must be used. At the lowest income levels changes in the quality of available low-cost merchandise, for example, take on especial significance. We certainly should not assume that *every* family which formerly had an income of $1,000 and now has a spendable income of exactly $1,234 is as adequately provided for today as it was three years ago.
>
> At the very least, it should be remembered that an average increase of 23.4 percent in the cost of living means that approximately half the families of the country have experienced a greater increase. The Bureau's figures themselves show that the cost of living has risen much more in some cities than in others. . . .
>
> There is also the problem of the use of the index in trying to appraise the economic sacrifices of different groups in the community. In this connection it is a mistake to make a direct comparison of the rise of *gross* income with the price rise, without consideration of outlays for bonds and taxes. Such a comparison gives us no measure of the change in the well-being of American families. . . .
>
> Clearly, also, in-migrant workers face problems that are not measured by a cost-of-living index. . . .
>
> Their problems should be studied with entirely different techniques than those which are used in measuring changes in what has been known for decades all over the world as the "cost of living." They need to be considered in connection with changes in income, which probably induced the family to move in the first place. No cost-of-living index in the world attempts to measure the additional expenses that attend migration. . . .
>
> Other problems, like the inadequacies of price control and the failure to maintain adequate supplies of low-priced clothing and other merchandise of satisfactory quality, are given more attention in the report. But here again the problem is not a problem of the accuracy of the index. The inadequacies of price control, for example, are reflected in the cost-of-living index. The problems of how to enforce price ceilings, and of how to ensure a better distribution of scarce goods, are administrative problems, beyond the province of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. . . . Their solution should be a major aim of governmental policy.

The discussion of the specific questions raised by Mr. Ruttenberg, such as quality deterioration and trading-up, must necessarily be inadequate here. Comments from the Bureau's appraisal of the report by Mr. Meany and Mr. Thomas, on which Mr. Ruttenberg's discussion rests, may be summarized as follows:

1. *Quality Deterioration.* – This has long been recognized by the Bureau. The Bureau's index does not measure quality deterioration, though every possible effort is made to price merchandise of similar quality from one period to the next. Deterioration of quality cannot be measured. The evidence presented in the Meany-Thomas report as to its probable extent cannot be verified. However, even 10-percent deterioration, as claimed in the report, would result in only 1.7-percent increase in the over-all index figure.

The maintenance of quality for essential consumers' goods is most important in a war economy. The problem is one of assuring the production of adequate supplies, of as good quality as possible, at a fair price. Other countries, more hard-pressed for materials and manpower than the United States, have developed quality standards and maintained minimum supplies of low-priced goods.

2. *Trading-up.* – On trading-up, the Bureau commented:

> In so far as "trading-up" is required by the disappearance of low-cost merchandise—the only type alleged by the report to be relevant to the argument—it is reflected in the BLS index. Problems of shortages are under constant review in the Bureau and adjustments in the calculation of the index are made every month to allow for them.

3. *Geographic Limitations.* – The Bureau's cost of living surveys are limited, for budget reasons, to representative cities. For rents, for which wide geographic coverage is most important, the Bureau states:

> If the Bureau compiled its rent index to include all areas that the Meany-Thomas report suggests, only a very small percentage would be added to the rent index, and an insignificant fraction to the cost-of-living index.

In the field of food prices, the Committee of the American Statistical Association conducted a series of special tests to determine whether prices varied significantly in suburban and downtown areas, and found that they did not. The Bureau's reports from 20 representative small cities show only a slightly greater average rise in food prices than in large cities.

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4. *The Food Imputations.* – To consider Mr. Ruttenberg's point on "food imputations," it is necessary to understand the procedure employed in the Bureau's index, and the common sense of its policy of obtaining prices only for the most important foodstuffs.

The 61 basic foods priced by the Bureau of Labor Statistics made up 62 percent of the food bill of families with incomes of about $1,000 to $2,000, according to actual buying records in 1934-36. The other 38 percent is spent for a limited number of foods which are individually important; for hundreds of seasonal or specialty foods that are bought irregularly or in small amounts; and for meals away from home, which amounted to about 9 percent of expenditures for food.

The Bureau uses changes in the prices of these 61 essential foods to represent other foods of the same general kind. For example, prices of canned peas, tomatoes, corn and green beans, which in ordinary years are two-thirds to three-fourths of all canned vegetables sold, are used to represent price changes of other less important canned vegetables like spinach, asparagus and carrots. Tests have shown that, as a rule, prices of these canned vegetables move together.

Then, with specific reference to the principal claim of the Meany-Thomas report that food prices have advanced by 74 percent from January, 1941, to date, as contrasted with 40 percent, as found by the Bureau, it is claimed, first of all, that foods not priced by the Bureau of Labor Statistics have advanced more than those that are in the index.

The Meany-Thomas report claims to show that the prices of foods not priced by the Bureau of Labor Statistics have risen twice as fast as prices of the priced foods—or 96.6 percent. The Bureau has sought authoritative prices to appraise this statement concerning "imputations." It is the most important single point in the report and it accounts for 19 of the 34 points of difference between the price rise for foods shown by the Bureau and that estimated by the Meany-Thomas report. . . .

It is impossible to price every item of food bought by the average family.

A special survey by the Bureau, however, shows that if the principal items of food purchased for use at home, and not now in the index, had been included, the index would be slightly lower than it is now.

A. F. HINRICHS

The Invisible Congress

IV. *Lobbies on the Left*

IT WAS NOT SO LONG AGO that liberals and progressives sneered when they said "lobbying" or "lobbyist" and spat the words out as though they had a bad taste. Individuals and groups operating in the social fields inclined to the belief that "pressure" was inherently wrong, that the thing to do was to outlaw lobbying and the troubles connected with representative government would disappear.

That time has passed. Labor and progressives of all stripes have come to understand that the only answer to "bad" pressure is more pressure, that the only way to ensure that people will be put before property is to organize an Invisible Congress in their interest strong enough to hold its own against business's Invisible Congress of lobbyists in the fight for power.

The last year has seen a tremendous growth in the size and maturity of the liberal lobby. A year ago, for instance, the CIO unions with functioning legislative representatives in Washington could be counted on one hand. Of the "Big Three" unions, in terms of membership—the United Auto Workers (approximately 1,250,000), the United Steelworkers (800,000), and the United Electrical Workers (600,000)—only the smallest, the UEW, was represented in Washington until the last twelve months. Now the Auto Workers have a comparatively large Washington staff and are giving leadership in the field of political action to liberal groups all over the country as well as to other parts of the CIO. The United Steelworkers have recently appointed a national legislative representative who has an unusual background of experience as director of various congressional investigating committees. There are now 15 branches of the CIO with Washington representatives to watch out for their interests; 10 of these have legislative representatives all or part of whose time is spent dealing with Congress.

The National Farmers' Union has increased both its Washington staff and the frequency of the visits of its leaders to the Capital, as corporate farming and the food industry have made ever greater inroads on the war food program. A number of new organizations and clearing houses for existing organizations have sprung up under the threat of inflation. Church groups, consumer groups, veterans' organizations and many of the national women's organizations which exist for other purposes have identified themselves with the fight against inflation. Even the tax-exempt, professional and educational associations have developed their technique for influencing legislation without violating the spirit or the letter of the law, by providing their members or associates with detailed

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information on specific legislative matters which those individuals are then in turn free to express to their own Senators and Representatives.

The groups that are out to obtain greater government attention to the needs of the people are working hard to build their own Invisible Congress of lobbyists. They are up against certain obvious disadvantages in competing with those who for years have employed lobbyists to protect their property interests. The liberal lobbyists are generally outnumbered, less experienced, underpaid and overworked. Usually instead of having one definite field of legislation to watch and influence, the liberal lobbyist's job is as broad as human welfare. He spreads himself thin, not just by temptation but by necessity. Because the liberal lobbies are all fairly new to the job, they haven't so many of such old friends on Capitol Hill as do the Pressure Boys who have been around for years and years. Nor do the Invisible Congressmen of the Left have the inside track with chairmen of important congressional committees enjoyed by so many members of the property lobby, for in spite of New Deal election victories, the seniority system has continued to elevate many of the New Deal's worst enemies and the property lobby's best friends to those strategic positions.

Within these limitations, the drive to offset "bad" pressure is moving ahead. Each group still works in its own way, with too little real coördination; a few examples should give some idea of the progress that is being made toward equalizing the contest for the control of power as well as the job that remains to be done.

Organized Labor.– The political policy of the American Federation of Labor has changed little since Samuel Gompers and his associates organized it in 1886. Then they were aiming at immediate and tangible goals like the eight-hour day and mutual-assistance benefit funds for strikes. They were not concerned with the larger economic problems facing the nation, and, with a few exceptions, they are not today. They lobbied for straight labor benefits from Congress and campaigned politically at election time to reward their friends and punish their enemies. That still goes. This time the AFL test issue is supposed to be the Smith-Connally bill—those who voted against it will get AFL support; those for it will not. There are, however, some strange exceptions like Martin Dies who are being singled out for President William Green's blessing regardless.

The CIO was not only something new in the way of labor organization when it was formed in 1935: after it began to grow out of its swaddling clothes, it introduced something new in the way of legislative action. Issues that were not strictly labor matters became of primary concern. Soon the fight for the abolition of the poll tax, for social security and public power, took their places beside the fight for recognition of collective-bargaining rights.

The CIO lost little time in learning the scope of its legislative responsibilities. But it was not so quick in preparing to meet its responsibilities. Under the John L. Lewis regime, there was much wandering between two possibilities. Money and energy went into trying to elect labor candidates in promising districts, and also into legislative work aimed at influencing the representatives whom other groups had already elected to Congress. Of necessity, neither was done thoroughly at that early stage; and no choice was made between electing and pressuring.

Since Philip Murray ascended to the presidency of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the natural pressures for increased legislative and political action have been so strong that they could not be denied. History demanded them. In the face of the 1944 elections, Murray and the CIO established the Political Action Committee which Sidney Hillman now heads. It is the job of that committee to help make sure that men friendly to labor and the New Deal point of view are returned to Congress—and that the best possible friend of labor is elected President.

The number of legislative representatives of individual unions, as was pointed out above, has increased remarkably. And increasingly each year, the CIO lobbyists work in support of a broader program. Recently steps have been taken to give the CIO lobbyists something approaching the unity of action and coördination of strategy that the Invisible Congress of organized business has enjoyed for so long. A CIO Legislative Committee, headed by Nathan Cowan, an old steelworker, as director, and composed of the Washington legislative representatives of the United Auto Workers, United Steelworkers, United Electrical Workers, United Rubber Workers and Textile Workers, has been meeting every two weeks or so to lay down basic strategy for the CIO on the Hill. Another larger committee, including every CIO legislative representative in town, meets at slightly longer intervals to lay out its joint actions in terms of what the CIO executive board and the Legislative Committee have indicated. In the last few weeks, the actions of this committee have been speeded up. In addition to being coördinated among themselves, the various CIO lobbies are now clearly carrying the burden for all those who are fighting for improving the general welfare. Even the short experience that labor's men have had in Washington is already paying off in improved techniques. Local unions still pass resolutions at every meeting on current problems, but now the resolutions are less likely to contain the threats and demands which antagonize congressmen. Locals send more delegations to pay personal visits to their Senators

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and Representatives, both in Washington and at home, and the purpose of their visit may just as well be to talk about price ceilings and grade-labeling as wage matters. The best of the Washington labor representatives use these delegations to establish their own role as mere messenger boys in the eyes of those in Washington with whom they want to work.

The successful CIO lobbyist today is not the one who calls the most congressmen by their first names and trades on personal relationship with them. The new labor lobbyists say that the old method is unrealistic, that results today come from keeping local unions interested in their own representatives in Congress and the congressmen interested in what union members in their district want them to do. The union's Washington lobbyist has to keep the wires hot with messages going both ways, informing local members of what their congressman is saying and doing, and informing him what his labor constituents think about it. The influence labor and liberals have on Capitol Hill has always been greatly limited by the fact that they were not tightly tied to the elections back home, that the congressman could not rely on them, either for campaign funds or for precinct and ward work with his organization. Every time a local union really goes to work on a political-action program in its community, the job of the union's lobbyist is made easier.

But the CIO lobby still can learn a lot from some of the old-time labor lobbies in Washington, from the various railroad brotherhoods in particular. The brotherhoods have long gone on the premise that the way to win Congress was not by forming a bloc of your friends and working with them, for there never were enough of them, but by working with all elements of Congress. Even John Rankin has his uses—until he can be defeated! Public power has no better friend in the House than he. In the kind of broad progressive program the CIO is founding, there are many such examples to be considered, and the CIO is just getting around to doing so objectively.

There is every indication now that we can expect much improvement in labor's lobbying performances in the next Congress. The CIO is looking on legislative work as a professional job, and is beginning to select men and women with the required training and experience for those jobs. Most of the large unions have accepted the fact that lobbying is a year-round, year-in-and-year-out job. It will be up to them to sell this idea to the few exceptions, like Hillman's Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who still are making no effort to counterbalance business's Invisible Congress.

The Labor Lobby Coöperates.—It is only recently, since the CIO started bringing in leaders from outside the trade-union movement, that much joint action has been taken between labor and liberals on national issues. As yet there are only beginnings in a few urgent fields.

The Emergency Committee for Food Production, set up to save the Farm Security Administration from liquidation, is one example. The late Courtney Dinwiddie, one of the most competent men the lobbies of the Left have produced, organized the committee and spent the last months of his life starting it off. His work shows what can be done about getting widely separate groups together for a definite purpose. William Green, Philip Murray, and Julius Luhrsen, representing the Association of Railway Labor Executives, are all sponsors of the committee, along with James Patton of the National Farmers' Union, Monsignor L. G. Ligutti of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, and the Reverend Clifford L. Samuelson of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Elizabeth Herring of the National YWCA is chairman.

Since Dinwiddie's death, Mrs. M. E. Tilly of Atlanta, Georgia, has been made director. Mrs. Tilly is something new among Washington lobbyists. Back home her principal job is directing the Social Action Program for the Methodist women in nine Southeastern states. That means seeing to it that 225,000 Methodist women have something to think about and talk over when they come to the meeting of the 6,500 Christian Service Associations that Mrs. Tilly is responsible for. They are for the Farm Security tenant program after years of studying it at first hand and personally knowing the before-and-after cases in their communities. Any congressman is aware that when the church women start after something they usually get it, no matter how long it takes. Before Mrs. Tilly is through with her Emergency Food Committee job, many a congressman who didn't appreciate Farm Security before will wish he had, and many a Washington lobbyist will have learned some new tricks from watching the sweet-talking, little Southern lady at work. The CIO lobbyists, who believe in having the folks back home do the talking, the folks back home, and Mrs. Tilly are all agreed on method. They should have many more opportunities to coöperate in the future.

The Women's Groups.—The national organization of women who are concerned with legislation have perhaps the best system for coöperation of any of the people's lobbies, through the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, which serves as a clearing house for their congressional legislative work. Twenty national organizations, including the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the YWCA, the League of Women Voters and the American Association of University Women, are represented at monthly meetings while Congress is in session. They pool their information on important issues and their Lookout Committee keeps the group posted as to where action is needed at a particular time. Before its members can join any legislative committees to fight on specific problems, however, the question must go back to the members of

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the organizations involved for their approval. The slowness of this procedure is sometimes maddening to their lobbyists, who want the help of these large organizations in a hurry, but the members of the Women's Joint Committee contend that the results of their democratic system are worth the time and trouble.

The lobbies of the Left are growing up. The organizations behind them are taking them seriously and beginning to support them with political action back home. Labor and progressives are finding that they are in many of the same fights and that they can fight better by standing together. The struggle for price control has been a good teacher. We are learning, but slowly and very late. The lobbies on the right, the Invisible Congress of organized business, dedicated to the protection of property first, are far ahead, rich, experienced and entrenched. In the long run the only answer to their pressure is more pressure, from people's lobbies for human rights. Organized privilege is driving so hard for political control that emergency measures are necessary. Congress must take a hand and a new Senate investigation is in order. A Lobby Registration Bill is desirable, so that everyone can know whom the Invisible Congress represents and who pays its bills. Labor and liberals will create the counter-pressure needed to balance the fight for power if a new Hugo Black will come forward in the Senate and help them get the time in which to do it.

Washington HELEN FULLER

The "Bevin Boys"

THE FIRST BATCH of the "Bevin boys"—the British youths who have been drafted for work as miners—have already completed their initial training and have started work in the pits. The second stage of Mr. Bevin's experiment has thus begun.

It will, if anything, be more critical than the first stage, the four weeks' training at the special training centers. The lads are no longer "utility" miners, as one miner has called them, with shining pit helmets, new pit boots and spotless gear; they are still green, but they are real pitmen, sharing the miners' daily life, and, incidentally, far more liable to accidents than they were in their training centers.

The places of the first trainees will be filled by fresh recruits, called up under the ballot. And so the process will go on, week by week, until the 30,000 whom it is intended to send into the mines at once, have been reached. It is hoped to recruit another 50,000 in the same way between now and April, 1945.

The government's decision to conscript men for mining did not come as a surprise to anybody. As long ago as July, 1943, the Minister of Labor told the Mineworkers' Federation that he might have to resort to compulsion. Every year, between 20,000 and 30,000 miners leave the industry as a result of death, illness, old age and accident, and the wastage has not been made good by new entrants. The composition of the labor force has become top-heavy, with more than a fifth of the men over fifty years old, and too few productive workers in relation to surface workers. Attempts to meet the deficiency by voluntary recruitment have failed dismally. The right to "opt" for the mines instead of service with the armed forces was only exercised by about 3,000 young men, and though voluntary recruitment is still encouraged, it has become plain—as indeed it was from the start—that it would not be sufficient.

The idea of selecting men by ballot, however, was totally unexpected. It has been well received both by the general public and by the miners, who recognize and welcome its impartiality. In theory, at least, the Eton boy is as likely to have his name drawn out of the hat as the miner's son. (In practice, nearly all the recruits are of working-class origin.) Balloting is a method familiar to the mining community. "Caveling," as they call it in the north country, has long been used for deciding which workers shall take what places underground, and it was applied for a short while after the last war to determine the order of release of ex-miners from the army. No doubt it would have been better to adopt a more systematic and scientific method of selection than to rely on the luck of the draw. But mining has acquired such a bad name in Britain that direction by any logical procedure would have given rise to widespread grievance.

On the whole, after the early storm over their pay and allowances, the trainees seem to have settled down, some happily enough, others openly disgruntled, but nearly all making the best of a bad job. It is safe to say that 99 out of 100 would have preferred service in the armed forces to service in the mines. The outburst over pay, which led to strikes in some centers and threats of strike in others, was unfortunate, because it meant that the scheme started off on the wrong foot. For about a week, the younger trainees found that after deductions had been made for their lodging, traveling, canteen dinners, insurance and other expenses, they were left with only a few shillings in their pockets. Many boys had already been earning fairly good wages as engineers, shop assistants or lorry drivers, and their discontent was understandable. Largely as a result of the agitation on this issue, the Porter Tribunal on January 22 awarded much higher wages for juvenile workers in mining. Now an 18-year-

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old trainee gets 60 shillings a week above ground, and 70 as soon as he works underground. Nineteen and 20-year-old trainees get correspondingly more.

There are now ten training centers in operation, one in each of the main coalfields, and others are planned. In spite of the variations in conditions in the different districts, the training given is on uniform lines. During the first four weeks at the centers—Stage A of the training scheme—the recruits receive instruction in general mining subjects, with physical training and practical work underground.

During the second stage, at the collieries where training is the responsibility of the employers, the recruits undergo a further fortnight's surface training. When they go below ground, they must work for at least four weeks under the supervision of an experienced miner. The Ministry of Fuel and Power decides to which pits the men will be directed, though the recruits are allowed to express a preference for any particular area.

Housing is perhaps the biggest single problem with which the authorities are confronted. In some districts, for instance in the Midlands, colliery housing is satisfactory, but in the older districts, particularly in Durham and South Wales, there is much congestion. Moreover, many miners' wives are now working full time in munitions factories and have little time to look after lodgers. Wherever possible, the recruits are being billeted with the miners' families, since this gives them a much better introduction into the mining community. But if billeting is impracticable, they are to live in hostels, and work has already begun on them.

It is too early to judge the success of the scheme. It remains to be seen whether the recruits will make any appreciable difference to output. It takes more than six weeks to make a "pitman," but in so far as the recruits enable other workers to be upgraded to the coal face, they will contribute directly to increased production, which is after all the aim and object of the scheme. Incidentally, the experiment is bound to have considerable sociological value. It may well help to break down the isolation of the mining community and it should certainly promote a better understanding, among the non-mining public, of the miner and his problems.

London MARGARET STEWART

You're in the Air Force Now

(*This is the first of three sketches by Lieutenant Michael Straight of the United States Army Air Forces, formerly one of the editors and Washington correspondent of The New Republic.* – THE EDITORS)

I. Hot Pilot

AT THE APPROACH OF THE STORM the planes on the line trembled. The mechanics worked swiftly to secure them. The red flag flapped violently from the tower. From the ready room we stared at the darkening sky.

We sprang up when the captain came in. "Flying is off for the day," he said. He sat on the table and lit a cigarette from deeply cupped hands.

"You men are just about through," the captain said, after a moment. "Some of you are beginning to think that you're pretty hot pilots by now." He sucked in on the cigarette.

"There are two kinds of hot pilots. The ones that are dead, and those who are about to die."

"Last week," the captain said, "I ferried a B25 up to Nashville. I took the night train back. There wasn't a Pullman left on the train, so I sat beside another man. The lights were out, and I couldn't see him clearly; he seemed kind of worn and old.

"The train was rocking along, and I was staring out into the night when this man says, 'I see you're in the Air Corps.' He wanted to know what class I was in as a cadet and where I took my training. Then he said, 'I wonder if you knew a boy in the same class as you, name of Jim Gordon?'

"I whipped around in my seat. I said: 'Know him! Flash Gordon was the best friend I ever had in the Air Corps! He and I were together from pre-flight until the day he was killed.'

"This man beside me says, 'I never knew what happened. I wish you'd tell me.'

"I figured we had a sleepless night ahead. 'It's a long story,' I said, 'and an old one—the story of the hot pilot.'

" 'Back at pre-flight,' I told this old man, 'Jim was the quietest guy I ever knew, and one of the happiest. He had a kind of assurance and style that meant he'd do great things; and what a kick he got out of living!

" 'Whatever he touched he could master. At Primary he moved ahead of the rest of us from the start. I remember when we soloed one Sunday morning—Jim after seven hours, me after fifteen. We had the same instructor. When the instructor sent me up he said, 'Thank God I won't be with you when you crash!' When he sent Jim off he said, 'I'm checking you out, but I feel as if it's you who ought to be checking out me.' That was two years ago last December. When we got back the boys told us about Pearl Harbor.

" 'I had retakes on my twenty and forty-hour checks,' I told this old man. 'So did most of the boys. For Jim they were just another ride. We had to learn to fly—

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he knew how. You have to understand,' I said, 'most of us achieve wings and a few have wings thrust on them. But one in a thousand pilots is born with wings; Jim was that one. The rest of us felt like we were earthbound when Jim was around.

"'Acrobatics!' I said. 'When we were struggling with snap rolls, Jim was doing outside snaps. When we were spinning, he was doing inverted spins. A lot of guys were hot pilots in the barracks after taps, but they never followed Jim around the sky.

"'It was at Basic,' I said, 'that Jim began to heat up. First a story went the rounds that a Vibrator had landed in a field near the base and taken up some cotton pickers for acrobatics at fifty cents a ride. Then there was a story of a stampede out of an outhouse in an infantry camp when a plane rolled its wheels on the flat roof. Pretty soon a cadet's wife arrived and said that for fifty miles a plane had been doing slow rolls around her train. Jim just grinned. Then someone called him Flash Gordon, and he became a hot pilot.'

"The old man said, 'Go on.' So I told him about Advanced. 'Flash should have gone to single engine for advanced,' I said, 'but he was too tall, and he went to twin engine with me instead. He was so hot at Advanced that no one could touch him. You couldn't tell him that a twin-engine trainer couldn't slow-roll. He'd rolled it. He swore that the only way to make a smooth landing in the A-10 was to dive it down and highspeed stall it in. The instructors used to come out to see the crash when he called in for a landing. He disappointed them. He was on borrowed time all right, but his time wasn't quite up.

"'Maybe Flash would have been a great fighter pilot,' I said, 'but my guess is that no man like that can borrow time for long. If he hadn't been so damned good they might have washed him out—and saved him. But it's the best men we need most—and lose.

"A hell of a pretty girl showed up for Flash's graduation, and for a while, when we were made instructors, it looked as if he might quiet down. But he was burning hot, and I guess the heat was eating his heart away. Anyway, a bunch of hot rocks from a single-engine base blew in one day on a ferrying job. They started shooting it about the single-needle-width turn boys and naturally Flash winked at us, and told them that he'd like to take one of them up and show him a good safe single-needle-width turn. I winked back, but I was uneasy. I thought afterwards that I must have felt that his time was running out.

"That was another Sunday morning. Around lunch time Flash called in and made a high-speed stall landing. He brought back his hot rock, plenty cooled off. Then in the afternoon, he went up with another one—there was another hot pilot instructing on the field then, and the two ships took off in formation.

"I was sitting in the ready room when the major came charging in. 'Who in the hell has been flying 187?' he said. 'Flash,' I told him. 'How the hell did he puncture the belly of the ship?' asked the major. I said nothing but I remembered the single-engine boy muttering something about slicing up alligators with the props in Okefenokee, and I knew there were some low stumps sticking out of the swampwater. I got up and went to the window.

"'Where is he now?' the major wanted to know. 'Flying formation,' I said. 'He'll kill himself,' said the major. 'We're going to the tower to call him down.'

"We were climbing up the stairs of the tower when I heard Flash's voice over the radio. He was talking to the pilot of the other plane: 'Let's roll to the left and split S out,' he said. 'A slow roll in formation! Holy Christ, they'll never make it!' we heard the control officer cry. He started to call them and then we heard him shout, 'They're locked together!' We heard an explosion; we could see black smoke and flame rising out of the woods at the end of the field.

"'They told me he died in service,' said the old man after a while.

"'Service hell!' I said. 'He violated every regulation on the field. He threw away his own life and the lives of three other trained men that this country needed. What's more, he destroyed two brand-new planes.

"'His death didn't do any good then,' said the old man.

"'The only good it did,' I said, 'was to teach us the old lesson that nobody ever learns—that there are two kinds of hot pilots. Flash had run out of borrowed time and moved from one kind of hot pilot to the other kind.'

"The old man didn't say anything for a few minutes. Then he asked, 'What was left of him when they found him?'

"'His dog tags and some bridgework,' I said. 'He was killed and cremated all at the same time.'

"'That's what I figured,' said the old man.

"I didn't say anything. Then I thought to myself: that's queer.

"'How did you figure that?' I said.

"'I'm not strong,' the old man said, 'and Jim weighed two hundred pounds. There were four of us carrying the coffin, and it was easy to carry. It felt light.'"

The captain lit another cigarette.

"Suddenly I felt ice cold," he went on. "I put out my hand and said, 'My name is Mallory. I didn't catch yours.'

"The old man put out his hand. 'I've heard about you from Jim,' he said. 'My name is Gordon.'"

We filed out silently and marched back, bending against the wind. The red flag flapped in the storm. From the woods at the end of the field dark rain was driving in.

MICHAEL STRAIGHT

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Washington Notes

Political Jitters

CONGRESS IS AWAY from Washington for two weeks, listening to constituents. There is an enigmatic quietude about the public; the wave of revolt Mr. Roosevelt hoped to arouse on taxes, on inflation, on the soldiers' vote, never amounted to much. Correspondents who covered Willkie in Wisconsin noted the mood. Is it apathy, or what? Whatever it is, it is giving politicians the jitters.

Werner W. Schroeder is Republican National Committeeman for Illinois. To meet, he is personable, comfortable, amiable. He seems a man of sense; you enjoy talking to him. And Werner W. Schroeder has been addressing arguments to GOP workers over the radio that, if successful, will (a) either defeat the Republicans in November or (b) lose the peace.

Mr. Schroeder would be national instead of state chairman today if Mr. Willkie hadn't blocked him in '42, when he was tied for the job. His recent arguments are as dangerous as any that have been uttered for a long time. Republicans had better do something about Mr. Schroeder in a hurry. He is attacking the New Deal, not on a legitimate basis of alleged mismanagement, but for imposing war restrictions and sacrifices at all. One example: the New Deal bureaucrat, he charges, seeking to socialize government, "limits your tires and gasoline, while lend-leasing it to all the world."

Republicans may win by these arguments, but they cannot win the peace by them. And Mr. Spangler (who is really just as isolationist, I believe, as Mr. Schroeder) has been abetting his lieutenant. He feels that racial discontents, fanned by the war, are bringing Irish, Poles, Italians, Germans, maybe Catholics and Jews, into the GOP fold. He is rubbing his hands over it.

These are bazooka arguments—dangerous at both ends: to the party that employs them and to the nation that might see that party successful on account of them. What do the quiet home folks think?

Another point is foreign policy. Something important is going on in the legislative lull: maybe a decision is being made. What is hard for Americans to realize is that foreign policy is a joint affair, the work of Congress as well as the Executive. A minority of one-third-plus-one in the Senate can kill the best treaty ever made.

If foreign policy becomes a political football in this election, all bets are off for a peace settlement involving reasonable coöperative international action. Mr. Hull is acutely aware of this. When congressional critics blazed up recently, elderly Mr. Hull hurried before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; hastily saw two dozen freshman Republican House members; quickly arranged for consultations with a joint congressional foreign-affairs group, and moved to activate a civilian advisory group on postwar problems. Critics may blame Mr. Hull for ineptitude in handling their pet foreign problem, but that he is doing his best to head off partisan congressional cleavage on foreign policy is obvious. Whether he succeeds or not is anybody's guess; it is just a touch-and-go affair at present.

As the manpower shortage becomes more acute a strike, of course, becomes proportionately unpopular. What is odd is the failure to give more attention to time lost by industrial accidents. According to WPB expert John M. Fewkes, these accidents—nine-tenths of which are preventable—account for "ten times" as many lost man-hours as strikes. I cannot believe that the public understands the figures involved or there would be an outcry both over the injuries and the war waste. The Labor Department says that industrial accidents last year were "the highest in history," and that even considering increased employment, "the accident rate went up again in 1943."

Lives lost were 18,400; permanently crippled, 110,000; laid up for an average of 15 days each, 2,225,000. Mr. Fewkes's corroborative testimony says industrial accidents between Pearl Harbor and January 1, 1944, killed 7,500 more Americans than the war did; that the permanently and temporarily disabled industrial workers outnumbered military wounded and missing by 60 to 1.

Washington Gerontocracy[1] Cont'd:

Cabinet: Secretary of War, 77 years; Secretary of State, 73; Secretary of Navy, 70; Secretary of Commerce, 70; Secretary of Interior, 70.

Senate: Chairman of Appropriations Committee, 86; Agriculture, 80; Commerce, 71; Reclamation, 71; Naval Affairs, 71; Post Offices, 75; Privileges and Elections, 77.

House: Chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee, 74; Rules, 78; Ways and Means, 78.

Miscellany: Some usually liberal-minded Washington correspondents who have seen Dewey recently say they were impressed; are inclined to acknowledge his presidential caliber. If elected President, Dewey hints he would try to utilize Roosevelt-Hull world prestige; believes the two would coöperate with a Republican President to give continuity to foreign policy. . . . Eric Johnston, possible Republican dark horse, will return from intended Russian trip six days before GOP convention. . . . The fight of voteless Washington to have Bilbo removed as chairman of the Senate District of Columbia Committee, where he is virtually mayor of city, is reaching formidable proportions. . . . Roosevelt let the soldiers'-vote bill become law without a veto because he did not want nationwide headlines: "FDR Kills Soldiers' Votes"; a veto would probably have been sustained because neither vacation-minded house had a quorum when he sent message. . . . Colonel Bertie McCormick, who has one of the best minds of the sixteenth century, read Dewey out of the party last September when he proposed US-UK alliance; now favors him and is irked because he does not declare his candidacy. . . . The Oklahoma congressional victory won by the Democrats proved little except that "Pappy" O'Daniel's rabid anti-New Deal attacks are an asset to FDR.

Washington T. R. B.

[1] Government by old men.

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The Lady and the Belle

"LADY IN THE DARK" is a three-million-dollar enameling job on the Moss Hart musical play in which a woman's magazine editor (Ginger Rogers) is psychoanalyzed into marrying a younger man (Ray Milland) rather than an older one (Warner Baxter), and into becoming a less mannish female. The story has to come through the kind of technicolor that makes each shot look like the domestic interiors in linoleum ads and through the kind of costuming, interior decorating and make-up that occur most frequently in the higher-priced department stores' windows. The task of filling his scenes with color seems to have driven the director to filling them with more furniture and clothes of a spectacular nature. Scenes like the ones in the analyst's office amount to displays of what the well dressed analyst and analyzee should wear, what the one should write with and the other lie on: a special pencil gadget that unhooks from the belt, and a great green-leather monster that curves so you don't need pillows. Anyway, it is all the people can do to carry around the clothes, and the furniture seems to be sitting in their laps. The spade work of getting color into movies has to be done, of course, but I think the people who see "Lady in the Dark" will be pulling for the kind that will produce a less livid variety of neutral color, more atmosphere and more color affected by the atmosphere.

Underneath the decor, it is mainly a business of hearing the lines, and not being very much affected or convinced by them. Miss Rogers, for instance, seems just as mechanical and hard after her analysis. I thought her choice among the three men was the worst possible one. She chooses the man whom several perceptive players in the show call a heel and a stinker and who uses words like "boss-lady." The movie has her going to pieces when he is around clowning as an indication of how ill she is, whereas actually it is one of the more intelligent reactions in the picture. However completely the film disregards actual dream imagery in its dream sequences, this can be managed with extreme conviction and emotional power, as was indicated in a good B movie several years back called "Blind Alley."

"Memphis Belle" is a smart, effective job of filming by photographers of the United States Eighth Air Force, and records the nature of one of the bombing missions over Germany. The twenty-fifth trip by the crew of the flying fortress, Memphis Belle, is used for the added drama that goes with every twenty-fifth mission, the one which, if successful, sends the crew home to be flying instructors. The tip-off on the experimental attitude that put this film together comes possibly a moment before the plane's take-off, when a glimpse of a chaplain praying with four of the fliers is followed immediately by a shot of a rack of bombs being wheeled across the field to the plane. But despite this imaginative cutting, done principally by William Wyler, the first stark, clear color shots of the English countryside going underneath the plane indicate in their strength the chief attribute of the film. The photography that makes up the flight sequences is exactly chosen for what it shows, and has the added emotional impetus of the best realistic color that I've seen in films. It includes startling images like that of the plane rushing up to and through flak, a terrible scene in which the impossibly huge form of a disabled fortress is seen lazily and drunkenly falling to earth, one in which the mushrooming shapes of the first bomb-hits on Wilhelmshaven turn into a great massing and boiling up of smoke. It is much more descriptive of what is seen on the outside of the plane than on the inside, though an extremely canny use of sound and dialogue makes up for some of that.

"Memphis Belle" and "Lady in the Dark" resemble each other only in that they are both color films. The former was made by the rather odd procedure of processing already colored film in technicolor. Without losing the rough actuality of the original film, this added coloring process seems to have been used successfully in clarifying and dramatizing forms, also in composing them. "Lady in the Dark" works along on about the same opulent level that characterizes Hollywood black and white photography of recent times. Its underlying principle seems to be never to trust anything in its native state.

MANNY FARBER

A Communication

Eire and the Allies

SIR: It is clear that two misunderstandings are operating in the current Irish-Allied crisis. The Irish do not understand, or will not understand, the totality of this war and its brutal necessities. We do not understand the reasons that produce Irish neutrality nor the attitudes that preserve it. Judging from the contents of the American note of February 21, the State Department has observed only one fact—that for a country with such an odd geographical position, to maintain such a classically even neutrality does not make for an even effect. The note therefore comments on this fact with direct realism, and asks for realistic action. The results have been utterly disappointing.

There is small indication that whoever wrote the American note has either read Irish history or considered the character of Eamon De Valera. Or granting that he has, he certainly has not gone the necessary step farther and discovered what the Irish people think the present position of their country is, and what De Valera thinks his own character is. Let no one dismiss these contemptuously as abstractions. Ireland is run by abstractions. National politics there has many of the qualities of a theology. And we have made the mistake of approaching this problem from a heavily realistic, if not opportunistic, point of view. The two lines of argument just do not meet. Since we initiated the business, the responsibility for failure is in large part ours.

In the first place, we have acted as if Irish neutrality were motivated solely by a desire to keep from getting hurt. Or more ignobly, as if the Irish were understandably determined to play both sides against the future for whatever they could make out of it. If this were true, Irish policy would have been modified very much in our favor months ago. And the 175,000 Irishmen who have joined the British forces would have chosen to stay safely at home or to work in British war industry at good wages. Obviously

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the Irish attitude—official or popular—is not so pragmatic as that. Its profit-motive must be concerned with something less tangible.

If we think of Irish neutrality as a practical declaration of independence, we shall be coming nearer to the truth. The right to stay out of the war, the power to make war or preserve peace, is one of the clearest attributes of national sovereignty according to the old books of rules. Any Victorian statesman would understand this perfectly; and however he might choose to act on it, he would always proceed with due theoretical regard for the niceties of international law involved. This is precisely what the State Department has not done. It is precisely what annoys the Irish most. For Irish sovereignty, as declared in the Constitution of 1937, has not been clearly recognized by either the United States or Great Britain; and the Irish are understandably restless over any further slight to it. Ireland is a young and inexperienced participant in the game of international politics. Like any other learner, she is trying to find her way by the rule book. The book (The Hague ed., 1907) says the game is croquet, so Ireland is out there in the middle of the field, batting her little wooden ball around with her little wooden mallet and prissily refusing to see that the game is now professional football with no fouls barred. Now, one of the biggest and fiercest of the players comes up and says, "For Chrissake play ball or get the hell off'n the field." Ireland holds up her mallet and her rule book and replies, "I *am* playing ball, and it says right here in the book—" The next thing to expect is a trampling rush and a squashed-out sob. It is too late for argument.

It need not have been too late. If Irish independence had been recognized fully and generously when it was first asserted by an established Irish government, we should doubtless find the country less irritatingly concerned with maintaining all the technical forms of sovereignty than it now is. If some formal recognition of the real good will attendant on Ireland's position had been offered in the past, this demand might have been met with more grace. After all, Ireland has not sold chrome to Germany like Turkey, nor anything and everything like Spain, nor permitted German troop transport through her territory like Sweden, nor fueled U-boats, nor allowed Axis propagandists to peddle their wares, nor sent out Blue Divisions. And if it be objected that her geographical position and her resources do not permit most of these things anyway, still one must say that her geographical position did not compel her to allow her citizens to join up with the Allied forces in droves. The plain fact is that the old joke about "Whom are we neutral against?" has a pretty definite answer: "Against the Axis." No one can accuse the Irish of having made any money out of their neutrality. Their national economy has gone cockeyed and their debt has soared.

One more if, and for practical purposes, the biggest "if." If the American commanders had asked for this protest months ago, when Axis espionage was surely as active in Ireland as it is now, De Valera would have had time to talk his way around to some more adequate compliance with the Allied demand, while steadfastly appearing not to. For that is the way De Valera works, and the State Department is inexcusably at fault in not acting accordingly.

I said we must understand De Valera's character, or what he thinks is his character, before we can understand fully the Irish situation. Anyone with the slightest knowledge of Irish history knows that De Valera considers himself a man of uncompromising and adamant principle. And he is. With him abstraction is not a bridge between separate realities, it is an aerial highroad from which one never need descend to reality. This marks him off sharply from the ordinary run of political leaders. They can jump fences jauntily and immediately, and yet continue to act as though moral vaulting were the expected exercise of the consistent thinker. He must first pass a law that the other side of the fence is now this side which is now the other side, and then be permitted to go over in the dark of the moon while our backs are turned. The time allowed for this need not be too long—a few months will do to complete the maneuvering, as he showed in 1927 when he had to take the oath of fidelity to the Crown. But he cannot do it in a day. Perhaps he cannot do it between now and the invasion date, and with everybody staring at him fixedly. Yet if the note had been sent in October or September, who, knowing Irish history, would say what the position of De Valera's government might now be? Perhaps he might have kicked out the representatives of both sides and seized the chance for another try at Ireland in the Sky, which should presumably be all right by us as long as we are not worrying about the Irish market. At any rate, why do we have foreign experts in the State Department, if not to handle such questions of personality and timing? Surely, if Ireland is worth all this trouble now, she was worth a little study and diplomacy six months ago.

With the safety of so many American lives at issue, it would be foolish and pernicious for any of us to question the necessity for this action. There are, however, more acceptable and likelier ways of asking for something than with a sudden kick in the shins.

Cambridge, Mass. JOHN V. KELLEHER

The Bandwagon

Easter means faith, hope, new life. You've always known that. But this Easter, knowing isn't enough. This Easter, of all Easters, you must SHOW the faith and hope and courage that Easter means.

How? . . . By forward looking fashions. By a lovely hat. – *An advertisement in The Schenectady Union-Star.*

Although athletic and social activities will retain a high place in the thought and talk of fraternity men, it should not be either improper or unusual for members to exhibit intellectual or cultural interests outside the prewar pattern. – *Virgil M. Hancher, president of the University of Iowa, in The Delta of Sigma Nu, a fraternity magazine.*

Men in Battle

The Battle of Tarawa is going on the screen in "Mr. Winkle Goes to War," with the sensational scenes shot by Frank Filan of the Associated Press as the guide for recreation of the scenes.

The bloody fray will be filmed with every comfort for the combatants, including mosquito oil and American-brand sanita-

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tion, with hot lunches and complete immunity from bullets. – *AP dispatch from Hollywood.*

Total-War Department

BOMBER SO LOW CREW WHISTLES AT GERMAN GIRLS

– *Headline in The New York Herald Tribune.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

What Are We Fighting For?

SIR: Your article, "The Far Eastern Muddle," in the March 13 issue was a very clear statement of the policy of the United Nations. It seems that [our] State Department and [the British] Foreign Office have devised an interesting method of returning to their imperialistic status quo. They have divided Democracy into two sections, the economic and the political. We are fighting for political democracy and economic fascism, or at least we are moving in that direction. Democracy is not divisible. If economic fascism exists, there cannot be political democracy. If political fascism exists, there cannot be economic democracy. By the same token, where political democracy exists it results in an economic democracy.

I fail to understand how a supposedly enlightened publication like The New Republic has fallen into so erroneous a way of thinking. In the article referred to above, you write: "Soviet Russia has economic democracy and not political." Surely The New Republic will not settle for a world covered by a false shell of "political democracy," a shell designed to soothe the great mass of the people who will demand a democratic form. A shell designed to hide economic fascism. If this new political democracy is only a shell and not a solid mass integrated and inseparable from an economic democracy, then I'll be in the army again before I'm too many years older.

Somewhere in Colorado FROM A LIEUTENANT

"The Invisible Congress"

SIR: We all knew that Congress was a stooge for American business, but Helen Fuller in her article, "The Invisible Congress" [The New Republic, March 20], shows that it is this to so alarming an extent that one may well ask himself why vote at all? In the light of this control of the federal government by business it seems only too likely than when our soldiers return from their quixotic attempt to straighten out Europe and Asia, they will be again destined to sell apples on street corners for a living, and the dream of a better world be blinked.

Brooklyn, N. Y. P. T. A. NEUMANN

Smearing the President

SIR: I have just been out in the cities of the Middle West for a month, and I was pained by the violent campaign to smear and break the President. If he doesn't die in office, it will be a miracle. If ever a man bore his cross, he is bearing it now. It cannot but hurt the war, both here and overseas. It knocks the ground right out from under our soldiers. One would think we were fighting Roosevelt instead of Hitler. It is already a big victory for the enemy and holds out more hope to them than anything in sight. It can easily mean the losing of the peace, if not the war. . . .

There should be someone in this land of ours with enough authority and courage to call a halt to the vicious sabotage of the President that is mounting daily in violence. It is motivated by hatred of true reform and of all that gives hope of true progress in the world community. The President, it seems to me, is steering as straight a course as is humanly possible in the cyclone of conflicting forces here and abroad.

Chicago, Ill. O. J. E.

Basic English

SIR: Far removed by circumstance from the wells of purest American undefiled, I have nevertheless been following the correspondence in verse and prose about Henry Miller's vocabulary with some misgivings. It all reminds me of Time Magazine's pale though elaborate attempt to approximate our GI way of talk. Anent the efforts of both Time and your correspondents, it seems that a lot of people in the States these days are wasting a lot of paper and good printer's ink broadmindedly putting their knowledge of unprintable words into printable English. The untutored native of Oceania, when confronted by the most unavoidable of these highly functional aids to graphic speech, is much more economical. On the French-speaking islands his word is "zig-zig"; on the English-speaking islands the phrase is "push-push." For what they are worth in the interest of conservation, I offer these handy evasions to your correspondents.

Somewhere in the South Pacific TECHNICAL SERGEANT K. L. C.

Farmers' Almanacs and the Weather

SIR: The generalities cast about like so many cattail seeds in your "Forecasting the Weather" of March 13 no doubt make excellent reading for the uninitiated. I was interested in particular in page 349, column one, paragraph four—beginning "The farmers' almanacs. . . ." With regard to our weather "indications" (you forgot, didn't you, that all "forecasts" were out for the duration—except those of the W.B.?), the method by which these are worked out has never been revealed. "Anyone can say there will be varied spells of snow in January"—correct, but sit down the previous August, my dear boy, and figure out what the winter will be like and have it snow when you say it will . . . then come on back and let's talk.

The Weather Bureau wasn't kidding you when they told you that five days ahead was the most any scientist would dare venture. But my gawd, man, after you get beyond the five-day limit there are ways to keep afloat.

ROBB SAGENDORPH, Editor and Publisher,

Dublin, N. H. The Old Farmer's Almanac

From The New Republic Mail Bag

From the statement of Sirdar J. J. Singh, president of the India League of America, issued on hearing of the Japanese invasion of India, comes the following appeal: "We are very much saddened by the news that the soil of India has been invaded by the Japanese. . . . But what is disturbing us is the news that several divisions of a so-called 'Indian National Army' are marching along with the Japanese forces. . . . India's popular leaders, who are anti-fascist and anti-Axis, are in jail. . . . If Nehru were freed, he would not only inspire the Indian nation to full and fervent resistance, but I venture to suggest that he would also win over the misguided Indians in Bose's Indian National Army to the side of the United Nations."

The California Labor School, Inc., 678 Turk Street, San Francisco 2, has sent us its pamphlet, "Made in Berlin," which points to the Fascist basis for the attack against Jewish people in the United States. It was written at the request of some of the West Coast unions to fight anti-Semitism.

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Books in Review

Peace and the Pundits

MR. ADLER'S new book [1] is even more of a curiosity than I had been led to expect. The reviews called it pretentious, but they didn't explain that most of the pretension lay in the author's attempt to revive a method of thinking and writing that hadn't been practised widely for more than two centuries. Essentially the book is an exercise in scholastic logic, presented in the almost geometrical style that used to be reserved for discussions of the Infinite and the sex life of angels. Mr. Adler, however, is dealing with the prospects of peace after the present war; and this contrast between manner and matter makes you think of a navy chaplain delivering his battle sermon in medieval Latin.

Most of the argument depends on his definition of peace as something that cannot exist in a world of independent states. Each state, he says, "is a power to the extent that it has capacity for war." What used to be called international peace is merely an armed true. Real peace can reign only *inside* a political community; and it follows that there will be no peace in the world at large until it is ruled by a single federal government. There is nothing in human nature to make such a government impossible. On the other hand, it would require such vast changes in political, racial and economic relations that the world may have to wait five hundred years before it is achieved. Our duty at the present time is to act with this distant end in view, while taking no short-term measures that might interfere with its eventual success.

Mr. Adler's book has the virtue of introducing an atmosphere of philosophical rigor and detachment into a discussion that threatened to be merely hopeful and pious. There is imaginative power, and some practical value as well, in his advising us to act on the assumption that a permanent peace will be possible in five hundred years. On the other hand, he sometimes gives the impression that his closely reasoned argument belongs in a white temple of its own, ten thousand miles from the battlefronts. He is also too quick to dismiss class conflicts as a cause of modern wars. Which class is going to dominate his world federation of the future? And when that federation finally takes shape, mightn't it lead to one of two alternatives? —either that the world would be torn apart by civil wars more horrible than the international wars of the past; or else that the new government would become so strong as to make civil wars impossible and even interfere with normal shifts of power; that it would organize all nations into a rigid pattern subject to decay but incapable of changing for the better.

Historians, like philosophers, start with a professional bias when venturing into prophecy. Philosophers tend to believe that the future will be as logical as their own systems of thought; historians usually take for granted that it will resemble the past which they have studied. Carl Becker writes better and sometimes wittier English than most other historians, but he shares their habits of thought; and when he asks, "How New Will the Better World Be?" [1] it isn't hard to guess his answer. He embarked on the book partly because he had been irritated by all the well meaning people who kept saying that it would be easy to make a new and better world, if only we would "abate nationalism, curb the sovereign state, abandon power politics and end imperialism." In two long chapters he shows that none of these steps is likely to be taken in the world after the war. Then he makes his own prophecy:

> The political structure of the world . . . will be in essentials much the same as it was before the war. There will be, as before, a few great states and many minor and small states. . . . In all states, except in Germany and Italy and perhaps in Japan, the form of government will be much the same as before; in each state, as before, individuals will follow their "interests," groups will exert their "pressure," and the government will be chiefly concerned with the problem of reconciling or compromising these interests and pressures. But each state will, as before, have a real or supposed "national interest," which it will endeavor to secure with whatever political power it can command; and from the resulting community or conflict of national interests there will arise a certain "balance of power."

Mr. Becker is not so utterly hopeless as this one quotation makes him sound. He looks forward to activities in many fields that will help to keep the world at peace (or in a state of "prolonged truce," as Mr. Adler would prefer to say). Notably he looks forward to international agencies that will deal with such specific problems as currency, tariffs, foreign investment, food, raw materials and labor standards. These agencies might be grouped into some sort of League or Union of Nations, which "would be less in the nature of a created mechanism than a developing organism." With this union slowly acquiring power as a result of the useful work it performed, "nationalism would no doubt be imperceptibly abated and the independence of sovereign states imperceptibly curbed." In other words, the historian ends by advocating much the same measures that the philosopher envisaged as a present step toward the federated world state of the future.

Sometimes—to pass from books about the future to hopeful gossip—I get worried by all this talk of full production after the war. The idea seems to be that we must achieve a permanent national income of 130 billion prewar dollars. Factories will work three shifts a day for the peacetime needs of our people, just as they worked for the army. Everybody will be employed, everybody will be prosperous, everybody will rush out with a fistful of dollars to engage in a buying spree. It makes a marvelous picture,

[1] How to Think About War and Peace, by Mortimer J. Adler. New York: Simon and Schuster. 330 pages. $2.50.

[1] How New Will the Better World Be? by Carl L. Becker. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 259 pages. $2.50.

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and I sympathize deeply with the economists who are trying to convince business interests and the government that it can easily be realized, that indeed it is the only solution for our economic problems after the war, and yet . . . And yet there is an old-fashioned strain in me that made me dislike the boom days of 1929, that makes me distrust the easy money floating around in 1944 and makes me look forward to an America that won't be judged by its millions of motor cars, its electronic stoves and television in every room. Sales resistance was regarded as a grave fault in the Coolidge days. If we have a postwar boom, it will become a crime next door to treason. Everybody will be expected to buy a second car, not only to keep up with the Joneses but also—and this will be the new wrinkle—as a civic duty and a means of keeping everybody employed in Detroit. Well, I want to see everybody employed in Detroit, but damned if I'll have two cars in my one-car garage. MALCOLM COWLEY

Kiss the Girls Goodbye

Goodbye, Mr. Chippendale, by T. H. Robsjohn-Gibbings. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 109 pages. $2.

IT WOULD BE MOUNTAINS if it were not Barcelona—or something to that effect—comes somewhere in Miss Stein's "Four Saints in Three Acts." That sounds complicated but is only a way of saying that Barcelona rose to view like a lovely vista of mountains. At any rate I kept thinking as I read, this would be a whiz if it were not "Goodbye, Mr. Chippendale"; which is only a way of saying that this new book by Mr. Robsjohn-Gibbings is often brilliant, is based on a genuine culture and wide, exact knowledge, is apt to the moment and gravely needed among us just now, and is diverting reading from start to finish.

As if the above were not enough, "Goodbye, Mr. Chippendale" has a poise that amounts to unholy calm and certainly will be infuriating to divers readers. It has an assurance that is aristocratic and consistent and, if its points were not so rightly founded, might be taken for self-complacency, which in my opinion is not true. And for all the bright wit, easeful transitions and disemboweling festivities, it has on the whole a good savage impact.

Mr. Robsjohn-Gibbings' book deals with houses and furniture in relation to our American life today. He has a main premise from which the whole discussion develops. This premise is more startling and significant than may immediately appear. It is that during the last few generations we find people seeking old furniture instead of new. There were the eighteenth-century European millionaires building magnificently, elaborately, ostentatiously, full of caprice, fads and bastardizing of architecture. After that came the middle-class rich of the nineteenth century. The author's contention here seems to be that the whole business about the antique derived from their snobbish efforts to acquire evidences of a past. At any rate, as he says, people who for generations had taken it for granted that you bought new furniture when you built a house, now thought only in terms of antiques. "Only one thing more was needed now to foment the fanaticism to the ultimate limits of the preposterous, and the moment was finally at hand. The millionaires of America were landing at Southampton and Cherbourg."

From this premise the book then evolves its record of the fashions in the antique; the mortality that attended the efforts in America to create certain furniture of our own; the arrival of the antique dealers—at their head the Duveen brothers, Charles and Joseph (Lord Duveen of Milbank), sons of a Jewish lard merchant who migrated to England from Holland—and the development of our own dealers in antiques; and as a crown to all, the decorators coming into their own. Then, we are told, in 1882, looking a little like Julian Eltinge doing a *male* impersonation, "Oscar Wilde sashayed into America, and after looking around, said of American cities: 'There is a good deal of beauty to be seen in them now and then, but only where the American has not attempted to create it. . . . "Be early English," he pleaded with stars in his eyes, "before it is too late." Coming from a pre-Raphaelite dude in satin pants, this message was big stuff. The antique itch was under way. And ten years later, the rush began when the gates opened on the Chicago World's Fair.'"

If you want to see the decorator girls and writers on taste and decoration, you should take up the chapter on "Turning the Turkish Corner." The first of these is Elsie de Wolfe, who set up shop in 1904 and who is described as doing the same thing for American furniture design that the Chicago Fair did for architecture—kept it back fifty years. Lest the suggestion make you writhe in your *bergère* chair, or wince under the *couvre-pieds* of your chaise longue, or pale against your *boisserie*, Mr. Robsjohn-Gibbings sets out quotations from Miss de Wolfe's "The House in Good Taste" (1913) all about Louis Seize as the final word in the home, and very full of unbelievable nonsense. It would be unbelievable, that is, but for the quotations from later books, by Mrs. Emily Post, for example, or only three short years ago, Mrs. Dorothy Draper's "Decorating Is Fun," with its, "Try to picture to yourself . . . a cyclamen in the sunshine—the leaf of a lily of the valley . . . the darkly shimmering green on the back of a frog. . . . Try the same technique on a room, but go more slowly here. . . ." And for the man a bedroom with walls of "dark London fog" and lamps made from "old-fashioned brass spitoons."

The result of all these matters set forth in "Goodbye, Mr. Chippendale" is that a nation capable of creating the great Tennessee Valley masterpiece has now vast housing projects plus millions of houses to be built privately, and finds itself without furniture to go into them. Wretched Grand Rapids reproductions, bad imitative designs for plastics, but nothing suitable, nothing worthy of us. This is the serious conclusion of a book that for all its high, bright spirits and prodigal use of knowledge is essentially serious. The one lack in it is that the last chapter, with its brief hints toward today's design for houses and furniture, should be longer and fuller, with more detail and more clinching of the author's theories and the lengths to which he would carry them. His taste, learning and independence make him the man for that, instead of the usual run of writers on the subject, who merely play the game or else are half-baked, and cannot be trusted.

Miss Mary Petty's illustrations for the volume are withering, if not murderous, in their dainty realism.

STARK YOUNG

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Vindication of France

Triumph of Treason, by Pierre Cot. Chicago and New York: Ziff-Davis Publishing Company. 432 pages. $3.50.

THE RIOM TRIAL was the first daring attempt by the pro-fascist puppet regime of Marshal Pétain to indict the French democratic system in general and the popular front in particular as being responsible for defeat, incompetence and inefficiency. As a matter of fact, the Messrs. Pétain, Laval and Goebbels had cherished the hope that not only French but also international democracy would be condemned at Riom. Despite the violation of French law, despite the selection of ultra-conservative judges and the violent agitation against the accused by the controlled press and radio agencies of Vichy, the attempt failed miserably. The two principals accused, Léon Blum and Eduard Daladier, emerged stronger than ever from every debate before the court, and Vichy had no alternative but to stop the proceedings.

In spite of the fact that the Riom trial will probably never be reopened, Pierre Cot was wise in gathering together all the elements of the issues behind the trial and exposing them to world public opinion. "Triumph of Treason," which originally began as a defense of one of the accused at Riom, gradually grew into a history of French democracy and of its betrayers during the last ten years.

M. Cot has been writing his book for a long time—almost a year and a half—but it was time well spent, since the final product is the most brilliant political exposé of the tragedy of the Third Republic. Very few people are better equipped than the author to present a competent analysis of the events which led to the armistice-betrayal of June, 1940. He has been a member of seven French Cabinets, in which at different times he was Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Aviation and Minister of Commerce and Industry. Furthermore, for a long time he was a leading delegate of the French government at the League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference. And finally, he was an active leader in some of the important prewar political movements of France, such as the Popular Front, the pro-League of Nations movements and the International Peace Campaign.

M. Cot sees three main reasons for the military and political defeat of France: (1) the isolation of France resulting from the failure of collective security; (2) the weakness of the French army; (3) the moral disunity of the French nation and, more specifically, the moral collapse of the ruling classes.

As far as the isolation of France is concerned, the author considers that the collapse of the Franco-Soviet pact and the abandonment of the French alliance with Czecho-Slovakia were the main reasons for France's finding herself in a greatly weakened position at the moment of the German aggressions.

The best case that is presented is on the weakness of the French army through the fault of the General Staff and particularly of Weygand and Pétain, who obstinately refused to take into account the new conditions of modern warfare. One of these new conditions was the perfect synchronization of the German armored divisions and air forces in May and June, 1940, which permitted the Nazis to wage a total warfare for which "neither the French army nor the air force was organized."

In speaking of the air force, M. Cot presents a great number of badly needed facts, and answers the accusations which have been spread in France and abroad against his administration as Minister of Aviation. One point that is particularly interesting: "As the average life of an airplane in time of war is less than a year and a half, none of the airplanes ordered or built under the Popular Front could be used in June, 1940; the Popular Front could be charged with only an indirect and remote responsibility for the material or moral preparation of the war."

Of course, M. Cot admits that he and the Popular Front made mistakes, as all the other democratic governments did, but he argues successfully that the democratic elements in France were more alert to the danger of Nazi aggression than many ultra-conservative members of the General Staff, and particularly Pétain and Weygand.

It is interesting to note that on July 28, 1940—that is, one month after the armistice—the French air force, according to Colonel Chatelain, assistant to the Director of Matériel of the Ministry of Aviation, still had a total of 6,038 planes, of which 2,039 were first-line, in spite of the 2,000 planes destroyed during the war. These figures, which were presented at the Riom trial, furnish support for the argument that France could have continued her resistance—if not on metropolitan soil, certainly in her African empire, where an important part of her armed forces could have been evacuated with the help of the British and the unharmed French fleet. On the basis of these official figures, the air forces of France were far from being in such a desperate plight as was generally assumed.

But M. Cot's strongest statement is that against the Fifth Column. Here is the author's explanation of the state of mind of many patriotic Frenchmen:

> Through hate of the Popular Front, good Frenchmen, or men who considered themselves such, served Hitler gratuitously by doing work to which they would never have consented had they been offered payment. Why? Because they detested the Republic and democracy more than they loved France. They accepted the idea of the defeat as a necessary evil which permitted them to rid France of the democratic system and to keep in power in the neighboring countries the fascist dictators whom they considered solely capable of maintaining order in Europe. They afterwards became unconscious collaborators of these dictators.

To the present reviewer this is the clearest explanation of the tragedy of many sincere men who for ideological reasons had been drawn into direct or indirect treason.

The author is very careful, however, not to confound the weakness of a small group with the strength of the French people as a whole, and he sets the heroic acts of resistance of the underground movement against the superficial and false statement of the "aging of the French nation." In speaking about the people of France and of Europe, M. Cot warns against the wrong kind of intervention on the part of the Western democracies against the popular forces of Europe. He writes: "A clumsy intervention in European politics could achieve the unity of

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Europe in its most dangerous form—a continental European bloc as opposed to the continental bloc of the Western Hemisphere."

An important part of the book is devoted to the Popular Front, whose origins and functions, as well as consequences, are clearly described. In examining its achievements, the author successfully refutes the theory that it was responsible for a diminution of French production.

There are interesting characterizations of Blum, Daladier and other leading statesmen whom M. Cot has known intimately, and the book alternates refreshingly between serious argumentation and amusing episodes, such as one that took place at the Riom trial:

On March 18 General Mittelhauser, former army chief and member of the Supreme War Council, declared that the French army did not have sufficient officers; Daladier thereupon furnished documentary proof that at the time of mobilization it actually had 4,000 more officers than the German army, and General Gamelin for once stepped out of his mute role to confirm the figure. President Caous could not help reproaching General Mittelhauser for making such inaccurate statements under oath; to this the General had only one answer, worthy of Colonel Blimp, which aroused general mirth. "I am sorry," he said, "but I read it in the newspapers."

M. Cot's whole view can be summed up as indicating that only a democracy which is dynamic and militant, which will work in the political as well as in the economic field, in the national as well as in the international, can successfully resist the assaults of fascism.

At a time when there is still much confusion about the future of France, and when there is still danger of dealings with undemocratic groups, "Triumph of Treason" is of particular importance. Brilliantly written, dramatically presented and clinging rigidly to the truth, it fills a gap that has long existed.

LOUIS DOLIVET

"It Is Hard to Be a Jew"

A Guide for the Bedeviled, by Ben Hecht. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 276 pages. $2.50.
Breathe upon These, by Ludwig Lewisohn. New York and Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 218 pages. $2.50.

I WISH I could still hold the simple-minded opinion which so strongly appealed to me when I was about halfway along in Ben Hecht's book: the only thing that matters in a book about the Jews are the basic attitudes of acceptance or rejection—pride or shame, yea or nay—of the idea of Jewishness. Anti-Semitism has its counterpart in *Judenschmerz*, a psychic agony peculiar to the Jewish world which sometimes becomes as violent, among neurotic Jews rejecting their Jewishness, as anti-Semitism itself. There is none of this in Ben Hecht—or, if it's there, it's concealed to the point of extinction, and it does not matter. Since, as Sholom Aleichem said, "*es is schwer zu sein a Yid*" (it is hard to be a Jew), only those Jews are men who are equal to their hardships. Therefore, when I meet a Jew who has the capacity for his own being, my first impulse is to believe that a simple bravo is sufficient comment.

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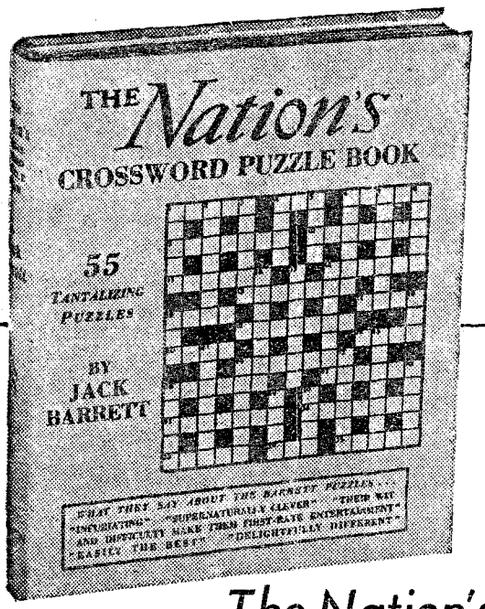

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Accordingly, I noted, but immediately forgave, the following in "A Guide for the Bedeviled"—it is full of a Broadway-Hollywood patter which distorts its genuine wit; Hecht overworks a tone of knowing irony as he trips it on the light, despairing toe; he has trouble confining himself to a doctrine of consistently developed belief, so quick is he to hit back, to jab away in all directions, at all detractors of his people; and there is a good deal of the comedian in him—"the Pagliacci of the fire escape" has not yet climbed down from his perch.

The Jew's dignity—of accepting and celebrating what he is—must remain sufficient to him. Hecht, therefore, makes no concessions to the anti-Semites. Anti-Semitism is an abomination—to account for it, look to the accuser, not the accused. He will not defend the Jews; their faults are the faults of human beings everywhere. It is the anti-Semites who fall below the level of "human, all too human." They are

> fools, pipsqueaks, social imposters, spiritual hare-lips, tormented homosexuals, lonely sadists, intellectual bankrupts . . . bile peddlers . . . invalids whose teeth ache, whose bladders drip and whose hearts are a sackful of worms . . . that mincing and bepimpled, clapper-tongued . . . tribe of lame ducks. . . .

This is the indictment of anti-Semitism. Hecht's analysis falls under the familiar theory of frustration and misdirected aggression. The anti-Semite is a man of vacuous egoism, a thwarted nobody who gains a sense of power and communal integration by attacking the Jews. He is a psychic invalid who projects his own symptoms—materialism, greediness, licentiousness, etc.—onto the Jews; a monster fleeing, but always betraying, his monstrosity.

Included in Hecht's guide is a diatribe against "the Jewish heroes of Hollywood," the heads of the movie industry. It is in his treatment of these heroes that Hecht puts his technique to its best use. Here he is done with murderers and is dealing with cowards, with Jews who run from Jewishness. "Hollywood is a town, an industry, an empire of toy-making, invented by Jews, dominated by Jews. . . ." But although the movies are a Jewish industry, Jews are taboo. Hundreds of movies have been made glorifying the brave Chinese, Russians, Greeks, French, Dutch—but not one word about the slaughter of 3,000,000 European Jews by the Germans. Not one Jew has fallen in Hollywood's war. The Hollywood heroes, and their comrades in radio, have overprotested their Americanism and hidden their Jewishness to such an extent that "a generation has grown up without having seen or heard of a Jew—except as a massacre victim or 'a world menace'." And this virtual wiping out of the Jew as a figure of popular culture is "one of the most concrete and important reasons for the increase of American anti-Semitism."

I think Ben Hecht has done well in picturing the anti-Semitic underworld of goons, loons and shady Napoleons, and in assailing the Jews who reject Jewishness. And, as I say, I wish this were sufficient comment. But he ruins everything by running with the anti-Germanism of our time. Not a word does he say about fascism and its causes, the world's responsibility for Hitler; all you need know is that Germans are goons on a spree. He writes (and worse): "I read in the fatness of their necks the mark of the murderer.

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I read in their watery eyes, their faded skins, their legs without feet, and their thick jaws, the fulfilment of a crime and the promise of another." You need only change the words and you can play this to the tune of: "the Jews with their curly hair, their hooked noses, their forelocks and greasy skins, the mark of the usurer, bolshevik, Christ-killer, international banker. . . ."

Further evidence that "it's hard to be a Jew" is presented by Ludwig Lewisohn's "Breathe upon These." This book angrily indicts the Allies—particularly Great Britain—for hypocrisy toward the Jews and complicity in their slaughter. "Breathe upon These" is a factual story of several hundred Jewish refugees who, after great hardship, made their way out of Nazified Rumania, obtained passage to Palestine, sailed, and were refused entrance by the British government; were sent back to Hitler's Europe, only to perish when their ship strikes a mine.

This story is told by Erich Dörfsohn, a refugee physicist, during a dinner party at the home of his employer, Paul Burnett, who is a manufacturer of optical equipment and an average American.

Lewisohn's novel is a failure, not only because it is poorly written and mechanically, implausibly contrived. It fails because Lewisohn's courage fails—just at the point where it must accompany his anger—fails to admit how desperate, how frankly hopeless, is the plight of the Jews. Or, if there is still some hope for the Jews of Europe, certainly it does not lie in the possibility that the Christians of the world may, like Paul Burnett, open their eyes to tragedy and say "Gosh!" But even if this were the only hope, it would certainly not be realized by crying out to the Gentiles, "We Jews are human like everybody else!"

"Breathe upon These" is a cry for help, embittered, as such a cry may well be—but also polite, which such a cry has no business being. What drowning man will proclaim his inoffensiveness? And if he is drowning, and if he does clutch at a straw, what right have we to pretend that this bland, inadequate and embarrassed Christian sigh, this great straw Gosh! is a life raft which will carry him to shore?

ISAAC ROSENFELD

Black on White

A Century of Political Cartoons: Caricature in the United States from 1800 to 1900, by Allan Nevins and Frank Weitenkampf. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 191 pages, with 100 reproductions of cartoons. $3.50.

THIS IS ONE OF THE MOST useful books for the student of American history that has been published in some time. The cartoons are well chosen, excellently reproduced and fully annotated. In brief, we have here what amounts to a political history of America from Jefferson to Theodore Roosevelt, illustrated by contemporary cartoonists who in a few cases (Thomas Nast and Joseph Keppler) were artists of distinction.

It is regrettable, therefore, that in commenting on a cartoon of the Reconstruction period the authors have gone to the lengths of underwriting the Southern "white-supremacy" argument. The following passage is unworthy of an historian of professed liberal views:

> A great many Northerners took the attitude . . . that if the Southern white would only accept Negro equality and work in friendly coöperation with his black brother, they might rapidly regain prosperity together. But the Southern white knew better; he knew that the only hope for order and progress in his section lay in the rapid reëstablishment of his own supremacy.

It is certainly the business of the historian to describe a reactionary phenomenon; but to endorse it is something else entirely.

GEORGE MAYBERRY

A Reader's List

THE STRUCTURE OF SOVIET WAGES, by Abram Bergson (Harvard, $3.50). A book that can evaluate dispassionately the economic techniques of the Soviet system is a rare treat. Dr. Bergson's work, while limited to an analysis of wage policy and administration, is an excellent study of Russian economics. It has nothing of the irrational zeal or furious dissent found in so many other volumes on the Soviet Union. Making ample use of official statistics, which, he convincingly argues, are quite valid, the

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author finds that wage variations today are not so glaringly disparate as in Tsarist times. Wage differentials appear to be comparable to those existing in the United States in 1904. The basis of wage determination, Dr. Bergson concludes, is essentially the same in the Soviet Union as in capitalist countries. In both, he says, labor productivity offers a fairly accurate yardstick for fixing wage levels. It is unfortunate that no attempt is made to analyze real wages. We should then have had a completed picture of Soviet wage policy.

UNRRA: GATEWAY TO RECOVERY (National Planning Association, 50 cents). This pamphlet is especially timely now that UNRRA is preparing to start actual operations. It is a concise and interestingly written history; the limitations placed on UNRRA's activities and the financial and procurement problems are particularly underscored. Although no new policies are explicitly offered, it is suggested that a redefinition of UNRRA's aims and purposes would be desirable. It is difficult, says the pamphlet, to visualize any logical distinction between relief and rehabilitation and the problem of economic reconstruction. Yet UNRRA, according to its leading protagonists, is not to be concerned with the latter question; it will handle only matters of relief. A policy of this kind is unfortunate, for a separation of the problems may easily be based on opportunistic political expediency. There can be no question but that the three R's—relief, rehabilitation, reconstruction—must go together, if UNRRA is to be the gateway to recovery we expect it to be.

ORDEAL BY BATTLE, by Cyril Falls (Oxford, $1.75). This latest book by the military correspondent of The London Times will serve as a complement to his recent "Nature of Modern Warfare." It is a study of the principal elements of strategy, tactics and logistics as expressed in campaigns from the earliest times until today. The book is written with Captain Falls's usual lucidity, grace of style and power of selection. The illustrative instances are not merely well chosen, but are presented as part of a coherent expression of a thought-out doctrine. In every way, for the specialist as well as for the layman interested in war, this is a signal piece of writing.

MEXICO SPEAKS, by Guido Rosa (John Day, $3). Superb photographs, whose full effect is not to be felt because of wartime production, illustrate a quite charming book. The author, a discreet and highly skilled "interviewer," records encounters and conversations with many scores of Mexicans, on the highway as well as off it. These are often delightful, sometimes revealing and, in many cases, very beautiful. The piquancy of proverbs and colloquial expressions is generally retained by the trick, practised by Bennett in "The Old Wives' Tale" and Hemingway in "For Whom the Bell Tolls," of translating the idiom more or less literally. Sometimes this is badly overdone. Not only Spanish scholars, who do not think of heaven as feminine, will know how improper is "Only the sky she knows what kind of Moon-of-Honey I shall have," as an equivalent for "Heaven alone knows what kind of a honeymoon I shall have." Mr. Rosa is sympathetic to the Mexican Revolution but not dogmatic about it. Altogether a warm-hearted and pleasurable example of a not too important genre.

DOCTORA IN MEXICO, by Olive Floyd (Putnam, $3.50). The biography of Catherine Neil Dale, a missionary doctor who devotedly practised medicine as a work of philanthropy in rural Mexico for nearly forty years. To students of Mexican history the book will have some importance as a source, in particular for the Revolution, to which neither Dr. Dale nor Miss Floyd are unsympathetic. The book is earnest and informative, the experiences recorded are serious ones, yet the dullness of the style and the lack of distinction in the author's presentation will make it hard going for the general reader.

Contributors

HAROLD J. RUTTENBERG is identified in a note preceding his article.

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